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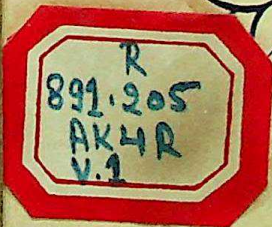
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Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad

Volume I

JULY 1969

No. 1



Mahatma Gandhi Marg, Hazratganj,
LUCKNOW

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय



विषय संख्या

पुस्तक संख्या

आगत पंजिका संख्या

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है । कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें ।

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पुस्तक-वितरण की तिथि नीचे अंकित है ।

इस तिथि सहित १५वें दिन तक यह पुस्तक पुस्तकालय में
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अनुक्रम

I. सम्पादकीय	...	पांच
II. Editorial Preface	...	सात
III. Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad—An Introduction	...	नौ
IV. Some of the Most Important Manuscripts in the Parishad's Collection	...	तेरह
V. लेख (Articles)		
1. न्यायकुसुमाञ्जली प्राचीनाचार्यप्रभावः : किशोर नाथ झा	...	1
2. Gauḍapāda's Rapproachment between Buddhism and Vedānta : L.M. Joshi	...	11
3. The Various Names for the famous Vaiśeṣika work of Praśastapāda : George Chemparth	...	23
4. शाङ्कराद्वैतसम्मत आभासवाद : सत्यदेव मिश्र	...	29
5. A Note on the Sanskrit Word 'Nitya' : Minoru Hara	...	41
6. <i>Adṛṣṭa</i> and <i>Dharma</i> in the Vaiśeṣika Philosophy : Anant Lal Thakur	...	51
7. New Light on an Episode in Pratihāra-Rāṣṭrakūṭa History : Buddha Prakash	...	59
8. Viṣṇu's Name Aniruddha : J. Gonda	...	63
9. On the Metrics of Cāṇakya's Sententious Verses : L. Sternbach	...	73
10. देशिकदर्शने शरणागतिविधिः : सत्यव्रत सिंह	...	89
11. The Law of Torts under the Hindu Legal System and the liability of the Government thereunder for wrongs committed by its servants : G.C. Sinha	...	93

एक

12. Elephant-and-Lion Motif : A Glyphic Depiction : K.K. Thapalyal	...	121
13. Indra in Early Literature and Art : K.D. Bajpai	...	127
14. Human Remains in Kauśāmbī : S.S. Sarkar	...	131
15. Kālidāsa and Nature : K. Krishnamoorthy	...	137
16. Scope and Basis of <i>Lakṣaṇa</i> in the Nyāya- Vaiśeṣika School : V. Varadachari	...	143
17. Different Interpretations of Devī and Kālī : C. G. Hartman	...	151

VI. टिप्पणियां (Notes)

1. <i>Rṣi Śvetāśvatara</i> : K.C. Varadachari	...	155
2. <i>Brahman</i> and <i>Īśvara</i> ; K.C. Varadachari	...	156
3. <i>Bhāsa</i> and <i>Bhāṣā</i> : K.C. Varadachari	...	156
4. 'Amā' : Babu Ram Saksena	...	158
5. Dr Buddh Prakash's Article-“Sā' di at Soma- nātha : A Criticism : Sadhu Ram.	...	158

VII. नवनीत (Abstracts)

1. बौद्धदर्शन और अद्वैत वेदान्त का गौडपादकृत समन्वय	...	161
2. गौडपादकृत सुविख्यात वैशेषिक ग्रन्थ के विभिन्न नाम	...	163
3. <i>Ābhāṣavāda</i> according to the Śāṅkarādvaita Philosophy	...	164
4. संस्कृत शब्द 'नित्य' पर एक टिप्पणी	...	165
5. वैशेषिक दर्शन में अदृष्ट और धर्म	...	166
6. प्रतिहार-राष्ट्रकूट इतिहास से सम्बद्ध एक घटनावृत्त पर नया प्रकाश	...	167
7. विष्णु का अनिरुद्ध नाम	...	169
8. चाणक्य के नीतिपरक पद्यों के छन्द	...	171
9. अपकृत्य-सम्बन्धी प्राचीन भारतीय विधि तथा राजकर्मचारियों द्वारा किये गये अपकृत्यों के लिए उक्त विधि के अधीन शासन का प्रतिकर देने का दायित्व	...	173

10. एक साभिप्राय गज-सिंह मुद्राकृति—एक आलङ्कारिक चित्रण ...	176
11. प्राचीन साहित्य और कला में इन्द्र ...	177
12. कौशाम्बी से प्राप्त मानव अवशेष ...	179
13. कालिदास और प्रकृति ...	180
14. न्याय-वैशेषिक दर्शन में लक्षण का आशय और आधार ...	182
15. मुण्डकोपनिषद् १.२.४ में देवी और काली शब्दों की विभिन्न व्याख्याएं ...	183

VIII. ग्रन्थ-समीक्षा (Book Reviews)

1. Alaṅkārasarvasva of Ruyyaka with Sañjivani commentary by Vidyācakra-vartin. Text and Study by Kumari S.S. Janaki. Edited by Dr. V. Raghavan : K.A.S. Iyer. ...	185
2. डा० देवी शङ्कर द्विवेदीकृत 'भाषा और भाषिकी' : उदय नारायण तिवारी ...	188
3. Women in Sanskrit Dramas by Ratnamayi Devi Dikshit : Chinta Haran Chakravarti. ..	190
4. India of Dharma Sūtras by Dr. Veda Mitra : Chinta Haran Chakravarti. ...	190
5. डा० धर्मेन्द्र नाथ शास्त्रीकृत 'संस्कृत शिक्षा की नवीन योजना' : सत्यव्रत शास्त्री ...	191
6. Care of Archives by K.P. Srivastava : Sarva Daman Singh. ...	194

IX. श्रद्धाञ्जलि

1. श्रद्धाञ्जलि—परिषद् की ओर से ...	196
2. डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द का संस्कृत प्रेम : विद्या भास्कर ...	198
3. डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द : आदित्य नाथ झा ...	201
4. 'भव्य' या 'दिव्य' जीवन : हरिभाऊ उपाध्याय ...	203
	तीन

X सूचनाएं (Informations)	105
XI धी-कोटिदकरण—Text with Introduction, English Translation and Notes : K. S. Shukla	1
XII Parishad's Publications	...

सम्पादकीय

इस पत्रिका का प्रकाशन तीन उद्देश्यों से हाथ में लिया गया है—(१) भारतीय विद्या के विविध क्षेत्रों में, विशेषकर उनमें जिनका सम्बन्ध संस्कृत, पालि और प्राकृत भाषा तथा वाङ्मय से है, शोध कार्य को प्रेरित और पोषित करना, (२) अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद् के हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ-सङ्ग्रह में विद्यमान संस्कृत, पालि और प्राकृत के दुर्लभ तथा महत्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थों को क्रमशः प्रकाश में लाना, तथा (३) भारतीय विद्या और उसकी उन्नति में रुचि रखनेवालों को परिषद् के कार्यकलाप तथा संस्कृत-सम्बन्धी अध्ययन और भारतीय विद्या के क्षेत्र में होनेवाले शोध-कार्यों से सम्बद्ध समाचार अवगत कराते रहना ।

पहले उद्देश्य की सिद्धि को दृष्टि में रखकर हमने यह निश्चय किया है कि इस पत्रिका में जो लेख छपें वे अनिवार्य रूप से उच्च स्तर के हों। 'ऋतम्' का यह प्रथम अङ्क विद्वत्समाज के सामने है। इस बात का निर्णय हम उन्हीं पर छोड़ते हैं कि इस दिशा में हम कहां तक सफल हो सके हैं। जहां तक इस पत्रिका के आगामी अङ्कों की बात है, हमें संसार के विद्वानों से इतना प्रोत्साहन मिल रहा है कि हमें इसमें लेशमात्र सन्देह नहीं रह गया है कि इस पत्रिका का भविष्य उज्ज्वल है और इसका स्तर कभी गिरने न पायेगा। हम अपने उन लेखकों के प्रति, जिन्होंने अपने लेखों द्वारा इस पत्रिका के प्रकाशन में योगदान किया है, हृदय से आभारी हैं। हमारी उनसे विनम्र प्रार्थना है कि वे इस पत्रिका पर अपना अनुग्रह इसी प्रकार बनाये रहें।

जहां तक हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों और उन पर आधारित गहनअध्ययनों के प्रकाशन का सम्बन्ध है, पत्रिका के इस अङ्क में हम धीकोटिदकरण नामक एक ज्योतिष-ग्रन्थ का सुसम्पादित मूल पाठ, एक समालोचनात्मक भूमिका तथा उक्त ग्रन्थ के सम्बन्ध में उदाहरण सहित कुछ महत्वपूर्ण टिप्पणियां दे रहे हैं। ग्रन्थ छोटा होते हुए भी महत्वपूर्ण है। ग्रन्थ का वैज्ञानिक सम्पादन तथा भूमिका और टिप्पणी आदि का लेखन विद्वद्वर डा० कृपाशङ्कर शुक्ल ने किया है। शुक्ल जी संस्कृत के भी विद्वान् हैं और ज्योतिष तथा गणित के भी। हमारी समझ में नहीं आता कि हम उनके प्रति अपना आभार किन शब्दों में व्यक्त करें।

उपर्युक्त ग्रन्थ के सम्पादन में विद्वान् सम्पादक ने आठ हस्तलिखित प्रतियों का उपयोग किया है, जिनमें से तीन स्वयं परिषद् की सम्पत्ति हैं और शेष अन्य संस्थाओं की। हम इन संस्थाओं के प्रति भी अपना आभार प्रकट करते हैं।

स्वर्गीय डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द जी इस परिषद् के संस्थापक, उन्नायक, संरक्षक सभी कुछ थे। वे परिषद् के सम्मान्य पारिषदों में तो थे ही आजीवन उसकी कार्यकारिणी समिति के सदस्य भी रहे। उनके निधन से परिषद् की अपूरणीय क्षति हुई है। हम इसी पत्रिका में अन्यत्र उनके प्रति अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित कर रहे हैं।

हमें इस बात का भी असह्य दुःख है कि पत्रिका के इस अङ्क के लेखकों में से डाक्टर एस० एस० सरकार भी अब इस संसार में नहीं रहे। डा० सरकार की गिनती विश्वविख्यात विद्वानों में थी। और यह उनकी विशेष कृपा थी जो उन्होंने हमारी पत्रिका के लिए बराबर लेख भेजते रहने का हमें वचन दिया था। हम उनके प्रति भी अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित करते हैं।

सम्प्रति यह पत्रिका त्रैमासिक है और यह लेखकों की इच्छा पर ही छोड़ दिया गया है कि वे अपना लेख हिन्दी, संस्कृत और अंग्रेजी में से किस भाषा में भेजें। किन्तु इसी के साथ अंग्रेजी में लिखे लेखों का हिन्दी में और हिन्दी में लिखे लेखों का अंग्रेजी में सारांश भी दे दिया गया है। जो अंग्रेजी नहीं जानते किन्तु हिन्दी जानते हैं और जो हिन्दी नहीं जानते किन्तु अंग्रेजी जानते हैं दोनों ही प्रकार के जिज्ञासुओं के लिए, हमें आशा है, ये सारांश या संक्षिप्तियां 'नवनीत' के समान ही रुचिकर और लाभप्रद सिद्ध होंगी।

EDITORIAL PREFACE

The object of bringing out this Journal is threefold: firstly, to stimulate and foster research in all such branches of Indology as may have the remotest connection with Sanskrit, Pāli or Prakrit or with Indian art; secondly, to by-and-by bring to light such of the rare and important Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit works as form part of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad's collection of manuscripts; and, thirdly, to keep those interested in Indology and its progress posted with the activities of this Parishad and the most important ones of the news relating to Sanskrit studies and researches in the field of Indology.

So far as the first one of the objects mentioned above is concerned, the same can be achieved only by publishing articles and studies which may really be of a high standard. We have, therefore, made it a point to set a high standard for ourselves in this respect. The first issue of the Journal is now before the scholars and it is for them to judge as to how far we have been successful in realising this ideal. As regards the future issues, we may assure our readers that the response which we are getting from top-ranking scholars all over the world is so encouraging that we feel confident that with the kind cooperation of our benefactors we shall always be able to maintain the standard that we have set for ourselves.

So far as the publication of manuscripts and their studies are concerned, in this first issue of the journal we are giving a critically edited text of an old and important, though small, work on astronomy together with a critical introduction and an English translation and Notes supplemented with illustrations provided by the learned editor himself. We have been very fortunate in getting for this purpose the services of a scholar of the calibre of Dr. Kripa Shankar Shukla, who is a learned Sanskritist and at the same time a very able astronomer and mathematician. It is difficult to find words in which to thank him. The Parishad possesses a number of important works on astronomy. We hope that with the kind cooperation of Dr. Shukla we shall in course of time be able to salvage them all.

सात

In editing the aforesaid work Dr. Shukla has not only utilised three manuscripts belonging to the Parishad itself but has also made use of manuscripts belonging to (1) Sri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, Jammu, (2) Adyar Library, Adyar and (3) the Oriental Institute, Baroda. We, therefore, heartily thank these institutions also.

The late Dr. Sampurnanand, who was a scholar in his own right, was not only one of the founders of the Parishad but also its chief patron in the true sense of that term. Besides being a Sammānya Pārishada of the Parishad he was also a member of its Executive Committee. He was always ready to help the Parishad in every way. The world of scholars in general and the Parishad in particular has become poorer by reason of his demise, which took place on the 10th of January last. The Parishad wanted to present to him a Felicitation Volume like the one presented by it to Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj but his death came in the way and the scheme had to be dropped. In this issue of the Journal we are elsewhere giving an Obituary Note in Hindi entitled 'Shraddhāñjali-Parishad ki oar se' and three other notes throwing light on his love of Sanskrit and his other qualities of head and heart. We are really very sorry and grief-stricken on account of his death. We are also pained to learn of the sad death of one of the contributors to the present issue of the Journal, viz. Dr. S.S. Sarkar, who was an anthropologist of international fame and had promised to be one of the regular contributors to this Journal. We pay our respects to his departed soul also.

As regards language, the Journal is trilingual, with complete liberty to contributors to write their articles, according to their choice, in Sanskrit, Hindi or English; but we are at the same time giving abstracts in Hindi of all articles written in English and abstracts in English of all articles written in Hindi. This course of action has, however, not been followed in the case of 'Notes', which are too short to admit of any abridgement. And so far as the articles written in Sanskrit are concerned, we have for the present proceeded on the assumption that all those who are interested in such branches of Indology as are Sanskrit-based would be knowing enough of Sanskrit so as to be able to follow an article written in that language.

In the end we cannot do without heartily thanking Sri R. K. Sinha, proprietor of the Industrial Printing works, Lucknow but for whose keen interest and indefatigable effort it would not have been possible to bring out this issue of the Journal in time.

AKHILA BHARATIYA SANSKRIT PARISHAD, LUCKNOW

Introduction

The Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow was started under the inspiration and kind patronage of the late Acharya Narendra Deva, the late Dr. Sampurnanand and Prof. K.A.S. Iyer in the year 1951 and was registered under the Societies' Registration Act, 1860 in the same year. Since then it has steadily grown on and is now one of the prominent research institutes of Northern India.

The aims and objects of the Parishad are as follows:—

1. Propagation of Sanskrit language and literature;
2. Translation of works of Sanskrit literature in Hindi and other languages and their publication;
3. Editing and publication of Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛit manuscripts and of such published books as are either rare and out-of-print or stand in need of a critical edition;
4. Search and collection of Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛit manuscripts;
5. Establishment of Sanskrit libraries, reading-rooms and repositories;
6. Carrying on, encouraging and fostering research in all branches of Indology;
7. Establishment of contacts with Indian and foreign Sanskritists and Indologists and institutions where Indological studies may be carried on;
8. Taking such other steps as may be necessary for propagation of Sanskrit language and literature and for researches in Indology.

Activities

The Parishad is engaged in the following among other activities:—

1. *Running a Library and a Reading Room:* The Parishad possesses a fine library in the city of Lucknow at a place which is not far

off from the main educational centres of the city. Besides manuscripts, the library contains a little over 8000 printed volumes, of which quite a large number represent works which are now rare and out of print. Attached to the library there is a reading-room equipped with excellent seating arrangement. The library and the reading-room are made use of at an average by not less than 30 to 40 scholars every day which is not a mean figure for a specialised library of this kind.

2. *Search and Collection of Manuscripts:* The Parishad has so far collected a little over 8000 manuscripts, out of which some are on palm-leaf, some on birch-bark and the others on paper. Over 2000 of the manuscripts in the Parishad's collection are in the Śāradā or Kashmiri script. Some of the most important manuscripts owned by the Parishad are given in a list published at another place in this Journal. The list is, however, in no way meant to be exhaustive. The oldest manuscript in the Parishad's collection is of Vikrama Samvat 1452, corresponding to 1397 A.D., which was a little less than 600 years ago.
3. Preparation and publication of Descriptive Catalogues of the manuscripts housed in the Parishad. With financial assistance given by the Government of India the Parishad has already published a Catalogue of 1304 manuscripts. Another Catalogue of other 4030 manuscripts, which too has been prepared with the Government of India's financial help, is in the press and is expected to be out soon. The work of preparing a Catalogue of the remaining manuscripts is in progress. In fact, it is a continuing process.
4. *Preparing critical editions of old and rare works:* A book on astronomy entitled 'Dhikotīda-karaṇa' has already been critically edited and is being published in this Journal along with an Introduction, English translation and notes. Some of the 'Tantra' works present in the form of manuscripts in our collection are being edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj. The Parishad also wants to take up the work of preparing a critical edition of the 'Kathāsaritsāgara' with the help of all its extant manuscripts, one of which is present in the

Parishad's own collection. This manuscript, which is on birch-bark and in Śāradā script, is almost complete. The Government of India has got this manuscript laminated free of charge at the National Archives.

5. *Honouring distinguished Sanskritists and Scholars of Indology*: In September 1967 the Parishad brought out and presented an Abhinandana Grantha to Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj. Other Abhinandana Granthas to be presented to some other very distinguished scholars are even now in the Parishad's contemplation. This very year the Parishad held a special function in honour of Prof. A. L. Basham.
6. *Publications*: A list of the Parishad's publications is being given at the end of this Journal. One Srimati Lakshmi Agrawal has created an endowment for establishing a books-series in order to perpetuate the memory of her parents. Other philanthropists are requested to make similar endowments for perpetuating the memory of their near and dear ones.
7. *Holding of academic meets and seminars*: A meeting in which some scholar or the other delivers a speech or reads a paper is a weekly feature.
8. *Staging Sanskrit Dramas*: The Parishad has so far staged several Sanskrit dramas in the city of Lucknow. It also staged one Sanskrit drama in Varanasi and another in Ujjain. It wants to set up a permanent stage for such dramas but lacks the necessary funds.
9. *Research Work*: Research is one of the main functions of the Parishad. The library together with its manuscript-section is being equipped in such a way as to be most helpful in this matter. The publication of the present Journal is a step in the same direction and so was the publication of Kaviraja Abhinandana Grantha. The Parishad has been very fortunate in getting the services of Prof. K. A. S. Iyer to work as the Director of Research. Scholars wishing to do research under the auspices of the Parishad have the advantage of getting guidance also from the following :—
 1. Dr. Satya Vrat Singh, Professor & Head, Sanskrit Department, Lucknow University.

2. Dr. Kripa Shankar Shukla, Mathematics Department, Lucknow University.
 3. Dr. J. P. Sinha, Lecturer, Sanskrit Department, Lucknow University.
 4. Pandit Ram Narain Tripathi, Lecturer, Oriental Sanskrit Department, Lucknow University.
10. *Research Journal* : Its first issue is now before the scholars.

Management :

The Parishad is managed by an Executive Committee consisting of very eminent persons. The list of its members is given at another place in this Journal.

SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE
PARISHAD'S COLLECTION

क्रम- सङ्ख्या	पञ्जिका- सङ्ख्या	ग्रन्थ	ग्रन्थकार	विषय	लिपिकाल
१.	४०७	ऊहगान	×	सामवेद	सं० १६२३ वि०
२.	४०६	ऊहगान	×	"	सं० १६६३ वि०
३.	४०६	विदागान	×	"	सं० १७६४ वि०
४.	४१४	वेयगान	×	"	सं० १७५४ वि०
५.		सामवेद (अर्द्धप्रपाठक)	×	वेद	×
६.	११६०	माध्यन्दिनसंहिता	×	"	×
७.	८३६	शाङ्खायनश्रौतसूत्रटीका (अध्याय १०)	×	वेदाङ्ग	×
८.	५०५३	केनोपनिषद्वाख्या अथवा नारायणीयाख्या	रामकृष्ण	उपनिषत्	सं० १८८३ वि०
९.	३४६६	मैत्र्युपनिषद्दीपिका अथवा मैत्रायणीयशाखो- पनिषद्दीपिका	×	उपनिषत्	सं० १८६६ वि०
१०.	४३७६	चरणव्यूह (यजुर्वेदपरिज्ञान विषयक)	×	चरणव्यूह	सं० १८६० वि०
११.	१६३७	त्रिपुरोपनिषत्	×	उपनिषत्	×
१२.	४४५४	काठकगृह्यसूत्रटीका (चारायणीयमन्त्रभाष्य)	देवपाल	गृह्यसूत्र	सं० १८५८ वि०
१३.	३३७४	धर्मचिन्तामणि अथवा गार्हस्पतिचिन्तामणि	मुनिदेव	स्मृतिसार	×
१४.	३४७४	सापिण्ड्यतत्त्वप्रकाश	घरणीघरपन्त	प्रयोग	सं० १८६५ वि० तेरह

१५.	३६१३	त्रिशच्छ्लोकीसिद्धान्त- सङ्ग्रह अथवा शुद्धिगंगाधर (पूर्वार्द्ध)	गङ्गाधरभट्ट	„	सं० १६१० वि०
१६.	१६६	रामायण (सतिलक)	महेश्वरतीर्थ	रामायण	सं० १८४७ वि०
१७.	८६७	कारिकाशय	पद्मनाभमिश्र	न्याय	×
१८.	६७४	चिन्तामणिप्रकाश	रुचिदत्त	„	×
१९.	१०३१	तत्त्वचिन्तामणि (दीधिति)	शिरोमणि	„	×
२०.	३८११	योगयाज्ञवल्क्य अथवा याज्ञवल्क्ययोग (उत्तरखण्ड)	याज्ञवल्क्य- गार्गी	योग	×
२१.	३२५४	देशिकेन्द्रवेदान्त	ज्ञानेन्द्रतीर्थ	वेदान्त	×
२२.	४५१३	स्वप्रबोधविलास (सटीक)	शम्भुनाथ	„	सं० १८९६ वि०
२३.	२४३२	सर्वदर्शनवाच्यार्थसार	जैन ?	दर्शन	×
२४.	२४६५	अजडप्रमातृसिद्धि	उत्पलदेवाचार्य	काश्मीर शिवाद्वैत	×
२५.	४४०४	ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञा अथवा प्रत्यभिज्ञा	„	„	×
२६.	४३१६	तत्त्वप्रकाश	भोजदेव	„	×
२७.	२८४८	तन्त्रवटधानिका	अभिनवगुप्ताचार्य	„	×
२८.	१६४४	तन्त्रालोक	„	„	×
२९.	१६४०	परमार्थसार	„	„	×
३०.	३३६५	परमार्थसार- सङ्ग्रहकारिका	योगसाधु	„	सं० १८७७ वि०
३१.	१६४१	प्रत्यभिज्ञाहृदय अथवा क्षेमराज ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञा- हृदय	„	„	×

चौदह

३२.	२४६७	महानयप्रकाश अथवा महेश्वरानन्द महार्थप्रकाश	"	सं० १८०८ वि०
३३.	२८४७	महार्थमञ्जरीसटीक (प्राकृतगाथासहित)	"	×
३४.	४१०५	लल्लाषष्टि अथवा भास्करकण्ठ लल्लायोगिनी वाक्यषष्टि	"	×
३५.	२३८६	शिवसूत्रविमर्शिनी	क्षेमराज	×
३६.	२३६४	सम्बन्धसिद्धि	उत्पलदेव	×
३७.	१४६२	स्पन्दविवृति	रामकण्ठ	सं० १८७० वि०
३८.	१६३८	स्पन्दसर्वस्व	कल्लटभट्ट	सं० १८७४ वि०
३९.	३७२६	स्पन्दवृत्ति	भवट्भट्ट	×
४०.	२३६२	स्पन्दसन्दोह	क्षेमराज	×
४१.	२३६५	स्वात्मोपलब्धिशतक	सिल्हण या सिल्हान	×
४२/१.	५४२३	न्यायप्रवेशटीका	प्रज्ञामित्र	बौद्धन्याय
४२/२.	१४	वसुधारास्तोत्र	×	बौद्धरचना
४२/३.	५४२५	न्यायप्रवेशप्रकरणे टिप्पकम् राजानक- लक्ष्मक	"	×
४३.	१६	अतगडदसामुत्र	×	जैनधर्म
४४.	३६	व्यवहारभाष्य	×	"
४५.	४	कल्याणमन्दिरस्तोत्र (सटीक)	तिलकसागर- गणि	"
४६.	२७	उपदेशमाला	धर्मदास	"
४७.	४५	शान्तिनाथचरित्र	देवसूरि	"
४८.	५२१५	परमात्मप्रकाश	योगीन्द्रदेव	जैनदर्शन
४९.	२६८८	स्तोत्रावली	उत्पलदेवाचार्य	शिवभक्ति
५०.	२२८७	ज्ञानामृतरसायनस्तोत्र	शिवपार्वती	"
५१.	७०	सारोल्लास	×	तन्त्र

५२.	३४६४	तन्त्रकौमुदी	देवनाथतर्क- पञ्चानन	„	सं० १७०७ वि०
५३.	२३६१	भुवनमालिनीकल्पे विषमपदविवृतिः	श्रीवत्सपण्डित	„	×
५४.	२३७३	वामकेश्वरीमतविवरण	जयरथ	„	×
५५.	३३६६	स्वच्छन्दोद्योत	क्षेमराज	„	×
५६.	३४०१	कलादीक्षाविधि	मनोदत्त	„	×
५७.	२३६०	तत्त्वत्रयनिर्णयस्य विवृतिः	रामकण्ठ	„	×
५८.	४२७२	गायत्रीव्याख्यान	लक्ष्मणभट्ट या यक्षभट्ट	„	×
५९.	३४१०	मुद्रालक्षण	×	„	×
६०.	२१३८	यन्त्रचिन्तामणि	दामोदर पण्डित	यन्त्र	×
६१.	३५	माणिक्याङ्क	माणिक्य- सुरसरि	चम्पूकाव्य	×
६२.	२६१	कविकर्पटिका	शङ्खधर	छन्द	×
६३.	३४८८	घटकपर्काव्य (सटीक)	×	काव्य	×
६४.	४२०७	दृष्टान्तशतक	शिवराम	काव्य	×
६५.	५४३२	कथासरित्सागर (बृहद्दृष्टलेख)	सोमदेव	कथावार्ता	×
६६.		वाग्भूषणशतक	रामचन्द्र	काव्य	सं० १६१० वि०
६७.	१०४२	प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीका	श्रीकृष्ण	व्याकरण	×
६८.	३५५८	मोदक (कृदन्त, तद्धित आदि प्रकरण)	शम्भुनाथ	„	×
६९.	६०	काव्यलतावृत्ति	अमरचन्द्र	अलङ्कार	सं० १५०७ वि०
७०.	६०	काव्यप्रकाश- विस्तारिका	परमानन्द चक्रवर्ती	„	सं० १७१३ वि०
७१.	२४	रागमाला	क्षेमकरण	सङ्गीत	सं० १६८२ वि०

सोलह

७२.	१८	मणिपरीक्षाकल्प एवं कस्तूरीपरीक्षा	×	रत्नशास्त्र	×
७३.	४६	गदनिग्रह	सोढल्ल	आयुर्वेद	सं० १६६१ वि०
७४	१२१४	तुरङ्गरङ्ग	×	शालिहोत्र	×
७५.	१६५६	अधिमासोदाहरण- गणित	रत्नकण्ठ	गणित- ज्योतिष	×
७६.	६६६	प्रस्तावरत्नाकर	हरिदास	सङ्ग्रहग्रन्थ	सं० १६२६ वि०

सप्तह

X	संज्ञा	X	संज्ञा	२१	२२
			संज्ञा		
११११	संज्ञा	११११	संज्ञा	२३	२४
X	संज्ञा	X	संज्ञा	२५	२६
X	संज्ञा	११११	संज्ञा	२७	२८
	संज्ञा		संज्ञा		
११११	संज्ञा	११११	संज्ञा	२९	३०

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

080473

न्यायकुसुमाञ्जली प्राचीनाचार्यप्रभावः

किशोर नाथ भा

दरभङ्गा

तत्रभवानुदयनाचार्यः जगतः कर्तुरीश्वरस्य स्थापनाय गद्यपद्यात्मकं न्याय-
कुसुमाञ्जलिप्रकरणं व्यलिखदिति नाविदितं न्यायशास्त्ररसिकाणाम् अस्मिन् प्रकरणग्रन्थे
तादृशपरमात्मनः सिद्धिविधौ क्रमशश्चार्वाकस्य, मीमांसकस्य, बौद्धस्य, जैनस्य सांख्यस्य
च मतवादाः पूर्वपक्षतया समुद्धृताः सन्ति । न्यायदर्शनानुमतयुक्तिभिश्चैतेषां पूर्वपक्षाणाम्
खण्डनमुखं समाधानं कुसुमाञ्जलिस्तवकेषु विद्यते ।

कुसुमाञ्जलेस्तुलनात्मकाध्ययनेन ज्ञायते यदीश्वरस्य सिद्धये याः युक्तीरत्र
प्रस्तुतास्ताः सर्वा एव न्यायभाष्यवार्त्तिकादिषु दर्शनान्तरचर्चितप्राचीनाल्पपरिचितनैयायिक-
सन्दर्भेषु च प्रायो मूलरूपेणावस्थिताः विद्यन्ते ।

उदयनस्तु कुसुमाञ्जली प्राचीननैयायिकोद्भावितयुक्तीनां नवीनदृष्टान्तादिप्रदर्शनपूर्वकं
विशदव्याख्यानं विधाय प्रतिष्ठामुपाजितवान् । अत एव निपुणगवेषणया दृढं वक्तुं शक्नोति
कश्चित् यदयं न्यायसम्मतयुक्तीनां संग्राहक एवासीन्न तु मौलिकयुक्त्युद्भावकः । विषयस्य
का कथा बहुत्र पङ्क्तयोऽपि यथायथं समानाः दृश्यन्ते । अयञ्च प्राचीनप्रभावः प्रत्यक्षः
परोक्षश्चेति द्विधा परिलक्ष्यते । प्रत्यक्षप्रभावोऽपि पुनः विभागद्वयमवलम्ब्य तिष्ठति—
पङ्क्तिसाम्यं विषयसाम्यञ्चेति ।

तत्र पङ्क्तिसाम्यं यथा—

(क) सापेक्षत्वादनादित्वात्^१ ।

तुलनीयम्—अनादिः संसार इति प्रतिपादितम्^२ ।

(ख) एकस्य न क्रमः क्वापि वैचित्र्यञ्च समस्य न^३ ।

तुलनीयम्—न ह्येकरूपात् कारणात् कार्यभेदं पश्यामः^४ ।

यद्येकं निमित्तं स्यात् वैचित्र्यं न भवेत् । नहि अभिन्नात् कारणात् कार्य-
वैचित्र्यमुपपद्यते । तस्याकस्मिकत्वप्रसङ्गात्^५ ।

(ग) चिरध्वस्तं फलायालं न कर्मातिशयं विना^६ ।

तुलनीयम्—योगादिक्रिया तु आशुतरविनाशिनी न चिरभाविनी स्वर्गाय
कल्पते^७ ।

(घ) परस्परविरोधे हि न प्रकारान्तरस्थितिः^८ ।

नहि भावाभावाभ्यामन्यः प्रकारः संभावनीयः । परस्परविधिनिषेध-
रूपत्वात् । न भाव इति निषेधमात्रेणैवाभावविधिः । एवं नाभाव इति
निषेध एव भावविधिः^९ ।

तुलनीयम्—एषा तावत् प्रमेयगतिः । भावाभावौ परस्परविरहात्मानौ ।
भावनिवृत्तेरेवाभावः, अभावनिवृत्तेरेव भावः नतु भावाभावाभ्यामन्या
तयोर्निवृत्तिः^{१०} ।

(ङ) संबन्धस्य परिच्छेदः संज्ञायाः संज्ञिना सह ।

प्रत्यक्षादेरसाध्यत्वादुपमानफलं विदुः^{११} ॥

तुलनीयम्—याऽसौ संज्ञासंज्ञिसंबन्धप्रतिपत्तिः स उपमानार्थाः^{१२} ।
गवा गवयसारूप्यप्रतिपत्तेस्तु संज्ञासंज्ञिसम्बन्धं प्रतिपद्यत इति सूत्रार्थः^{१३} ।

(च) नान्यदृष्टं स्मरत्यन्यो^{१४} ।

तुलनीयम्—अन्यदृष्टमन्यो न स्मरति^{१५} । नान्यदृष्टमन्यो स्मरति^{१६} ।

(छ) यद्वैतानि पदानि स्मारितार्थसंसर्गज्ञानपूर्वकाणि आकाङ्क्षादिमत्त्वे सति
तत्स्मारकत्वात् । गामभ्याजेति पदवत्^{१७} ।

तुलनीयम्—यत्र दुःखेनेत्यादिभिः पदैः स्मारिताः पदार्थाः गुणपदार्थ-
भावेनावस्थिताः संसर्गवन्तः आकाङ्क्षायोग्यतासत्तिमत्त्वे सति पदैः स्मारितत्वात् ।
गामभ्याजेति पदस्मारितपदार्थवत्^{१८} ।

विषयसाम्यं यथा—

उदयनः प्राचीनाचार्योद्भावितं जगतः कर्तुः साधकं युक्तिजालमष्टाभिर्हेतुभिः
पोषयति—

१	२	३	४	५	६
कार्यायोजनधृत्यादेः			पदान्प्रत्ययतः		श्रुतेः ।

७ ८
वाक्यात् संख्याविशेषाच्च साध्यो विश्वविद्वयः^{१९} ।

(१) कारिकायाऽनयोदयनः परमेश्वरसाधकहेतून् सङ्कलय्य क्रमशः प्रत्येकां
युक्तिमुपपादयति । तत्र सर्वप्रथममसौ कार्यकारणभावसिद्धान्तं स्थापयति । ततः
पृथिवीपर्वतादिषु कार्यत्वं प्रसाध्य तेनैव हेतुना तत्र सकर्तृकत्वं साधयति स च कर्ता
इतरबाधसंहकारात्मकानुमानेन ईश्वरः सिद्ध्यति । तथा चानुमानम्—पृथिवीपर्वतादिकं

न्यायकुसुमाञ्जली प्राचीनाचार्यप्रभावः

३

सकतृकं कार्यत्वात् घटवत् । न चास्मदादिस्तस्य कर्ता, यतो हि कर्ता कार्योपादान-
कारणस्यापरोक्षज्ञानवान् भवति । सांसारिकपदार्थानामुपादानजातस्यापरोक्षं ज्ञानं
नास्मदादिषु संभवति तस्मादस्मदादिविलक्षणस्तादृशज्ञानवानोऽश्वरः सिद्ध्यति ।

(२) एवमायोजनहेतुनेश्वरसिद्धिर्यथा आयुज्यते = संयुज्यते द्रव्यमनेनेत्यायोजनमिति
व्युत्पत्तिमतामुना हेतुना द्वयणुकोत्पादकं परमाणुद्वयसंयोगस्य जनकं कर्म विवक्षितमस्ति ।
प्रवृत्तेश्चेतनधर्मतया अचेतनपरमाणुः स्वतो न प्रवर्तितुं शक्नोति । अत एव तत्प्रवर्तनाय तत्र
चेतनाधिष्ठानम् अपेक्ष्यते । स चाधिष्ठाता परमेश्वर एव भवितुमर्हति प्रलयानन्तरं
सृष्ट्यादावस्मदादेरभावात् ।

(३) एवं धृतिः ईश्वरं साधयति । क्षित्यादिब्रह्माण्डपर्यन्तं साक्षात् परम्परासम्बन्धेन
वा पतनप्रतिबन्धकप्रयत्नवता पुरुषेणाधिष्ठितमस्ति गुरुत्वसत्त्वेऽपि धृतिमत्त्वस्य तत्र सत्त्वात् ।
यथा वियति विहङ्गमेनाधिष्ठितं काष्ठं तिष्ठति । तादृशप्रयत्नवांश्चेश्वर एव, तत्काले
अस्मदादेरभावात् ।

उपरिनिर्दिष्टानामेतेषाम् परमेश्वरसाधकोदयनहेतूनाम् मूलं बहुत्र प्राचीननैयायिकैरुद्भा-
वितेष्वीश्वरसिद्धियुक्तिनिवहेषु सुरक्षितमस्ति । तथाहि “प्रधानपरमाणुकर्माणि प्राक्प्रवृत्तेः
बुद्धिमत्कारणाधिष्ठितानि प्रवर्तन्ते । अचेतनत्वात् वास्यादिवदिति”^{२०} न्यायवात्तिकपण्डितैरु-
दयनतः पूर्वमेव तदुपपादितवती यदुदयनेन कार्यात्मकहेतुनाथ प्रतिपाद्यते ।

एवं तत्संग्रहे शान्तरक्षितेनोद्धृतस्तद्ग्रन्थव्याख्याकारेण कमलशीलेन नामग्राहं
चर्चितः प्राचीनो नैयायिकः अविद्वक्कर्णः चिरपूर्वमेवामुना कार्यात्मकेन हेतुना जगतः
कर्तारमीश्वरं साधयति स्म । तथा च तदुक्तिः—

यत्स्वारम्भकावयवसन्निवेशविशेषवत् ।

बुद्धिमद्वेतुगम्यन्तत्तद्यथाकलशादिकम्^{२१} ॥

उदयनप्रदर्शितायोजनहेतोर्मूलमपि अविद्वक्कर्णेन प्रतिपादितम्—

तत्त्वादीनामुपादानं चेतनावदधिष्ठितम् ।

रूपादिमत्त्वात्तत्त्वादि यथादृष्टं स्वकार्यकृत्^{२२} ॥

कारिकयानयाचेतनकर्मणि चेतनाधिष्ठानं प्रतिपद्यते ।

शान्तरक्षितस्य वचनानुसारमसावविद्वकर्णः न्यायभाष्यस्य व्याख्यातासीत् । कमल-
शीलोक्त्या चायम् तत्त्वटीकायाः प्रणेता । संभवति सैव भाष्यव्याख्या तत्त्वटीकानाम्ना
प्रसिद्धिमगादिति । परञ्चिरादेवास्य ग्रन्थो लुप्तः । अत एवापरिचितचरनैयायिकानां
मतखण्डनविधौ नामनिर्देशकेण परवर्तिकालभवेन ज्ञानश्रिया तच्छिष्येण रत्नकीर्त्तिना
च अस्य चर्चा स्वस्वग्रन्थयोर्नाकारि । केवलमभयदेवः कर्णकगोमिमहाशयश्चाविद्वकर्णं
जानाति इति तद्ग्रन्थावलोकनेनावसीयते ।

तत्त्वसंग्रहस्य रचयिता शान्तरक्षितस्तद्व्याख्याकृत् कमलशीलश्च विभिन्नेषु
प्रसङ्गेषु प्राचीनं वैशेषिकं प्रशस्तमतिनामानं समुद्धृतवन्तौ स्तः^{२३} । जैनदर्शनस्य
सन्मतिटीकानाम्नि ग्रन्थे विविधेषु प्रकरणेष्वस्य चर्चा मिलति^{२४} । अयञ्च प्रशस्तमतिः
पदार्थधर्मसंग्रहस्य लेखकात् प्रशस्तपादाचार्यादभिन्न इति युक्तिभिर्वैशेषिकदर्शनस्य
भूमिकायां धीधनैरुपपादातिम्^{२५} । यद्यप्यस्य भाष्यटीकाग्रन्थोऽधुना सर्वथा लुप्तोऽस्ति
तथापि कमलशीलेनोद्धृते नेश्वरवादसम्बन्धिमतेनोदयनः प्रचुरतया प्रभावित इत्यु-
भयोर्युक्तिजालस्य तुलनया विज्ञायते । यथा चात्र प्रशस्तमतेरीश्वरसाधिका युक्तिः—

“सर्वकर्तृत्वसद्बौ च सर्वज्ञत्वमयत्नतः ।

सिद्धमस्य यतः कर्ता कार्यरूपादिवेदकः^{२६} ॥

तथा चाहुः^{२७} प्रशस्तमतिप्रभृतयः सकलभुवनहेतुत्वादेवास्य सर्वज्ञत्वं सिद्धम् । कर्तुः
कार्योपादानोपकरणसंप्रदानपरिज्ञानात् । इह हि यो यस्य कर्ता भवति स तस्यो-
पादानादीनि जानीते । यथा ‘कुलालः’ कुम्भादीनां कर्ता तदुपादानं मृत्पिण्डमुपकरणानि
चक्रादीनि प्रयोजनमुदकाहरणादि कुटुम्बिनं संप्रदानञ्च जानीत इत्येतत्प्रसिद्धम् ।
तथेश्वरः सकलभुवनानां कर्ता स तदुपादानादीनि परमाणादिलक्षणानि तदुपकरणानि
धर्मधर्मदिकालादीनि व्यवहारोपकरणानि सामान्यविशेषसमवायलक्षणानि प्रयोजन-
मुपभोगं संप्रदानसंज्ञकांश्च पुरुषान् जानीत इति । अतः सिद्धमस्य सर्वज्ञत्वमिति
पञ्जिकासन्दर्भः उदयनेन प्रतिपादितस्य परमाणादिजगदुपादानकारणापरोक्षज्ञानवत्
ईश्वरस्य प्रतिपादनविधौ मूलं सुस्पष्टम् ।

ज्ञानश्रीमित्रोद्धृतः शतानन्द उदयनतो प्राचीनो नैयायिकः । एतस्यापि ईश्वर-
साधकहेतुभिरुदयनो नितरां प्रभावितः परिलक्ष्यते । तथा हि शतानन्दः “तथाऽस्माकमपि
तत्कार्यं यद्वुद्धिमत्पूर्वकम् । स पुरुषो यस्तत्कारीति । तथा यदि चेतनावन्तमधिष्ठातार-
मन्तरेण क्वचिदपि कार्यं निश्चेतनानां प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्ती स्याताम् तदानीं कार्यक्रियायाः
अविरामप्रसङ्गः । तथा हि यद्यचेतनानां स्वरसतः प्रवृत्तिस्तदा निरभिप्रायव्यापारवता
सर्वदा प्रवृत्तिः स्यात् । न ह्यकस्मात् प्रवृत्तिनाशो युक्तः । ततश्च कार्यस्याविरामः ।

न्यायकुसुमाञ्जली प्राचीनाचार्य प्रभावः

५

अथौदासीन्यं तदा क्वचदपि प्रवृत्तिर्न स्यात् विशेषाभावात् । अधिष्ठायकेन तु प्रयत्नवता कदाचित् प्रवर्त्यन्त इति युक्तं पश्यामः । नाचेतनेन । तस्येच्छायत्तप्रवृत्तिनिवृत्त्योर-
योगात्^{२८} ।

नैयायिकस्त्रिलोचनस्तु वाचस्पतेः विद्यागुरुरासीत् । अत एव न्यायकणिकायां मङ्गलश्लोके न्यायमञ्जरीकारं त्रिलोचनं प्रणमति वाचस्पतिः—

“अज्ञानतिमिरशमनीं परदमनीं न्यायमञ्जरीं रुचिराम् ।
प्रसवित्रे प्रभवित्रे विद्यातरवे नमो गुरवे”^{२९} ॥ इति ॥

तात्पर्यटीकायामप्यसौ त्रिलोचनं विस्पष्टमुल्लिखति—

त्रिलोचनगुरुन्नीतमार्गानुगमनोन्मुखैः ।

यथामानं यथावस्तु व्याख्यातमिदमीदृशम्^{३०} ॥ ३ ॥

अस्यैव त्रिलोचनस्य न्यायमञ्जरीतः ज्ञानश्रिया ईश्वरवादसंबन्धी कश्चन सन्दर्भः समुद्भूतोऽस्ति । येनोदयनः प्रभावितः । तथा च तत्सन्दर्भः—तत्पुनः क्षित्याद्युपादानं परमाणुचतुष्टयम्, सर्वक्षेत्रज्ञसमवेतसिद्धिरूपाणि कर्माणि दिक्कालौ चोपकरणम् सर्वक्षेत्रज्ञलक्षणञ्च सम्प्रदानम् क्षेत्रज्ञोपभोगलक्षणञ्च प्रयोजनम् । एतत्सर्वं प्रत्यक्षतः प्रतिपद्यमानः कर्ता प्रत्यक्षीकृतसकलविश्वविभागः सर्वज्ञः^{३१} ।

(४) पद्यते=ज्ञायते अनेनेति व्युत्पत्तिमानुदयनस्य पदात्मको हेतुः ईश्वरं साधयति । लौकिकव्यवहारपरम्परा चामुना हेतुना विवक्षितेति । घटादिनिर्माणकलां कुम्भकारः स्वतन्त्रतापरपुरुषनिर्देशने विज्ञाय तत्र प्रवर्तते, व्यवहारत्वात् आधुनिक-व्यवहारवत् । यथा पिता निजपुत्रस्य चैत्रसंज्ञां विधत्ते । तन्नाम्नैव तस्य समाजे प्रसिद्धिर्भवति । एवमक्षरज्ञाने यथाव्यापकः बालं शिक्षयति तथैवासौ तमनुसरन् शिक्षते । प्रलयेऽमीषां व्यवहाराणां लोपानन्तरं पुनः सृष्ट्यादावेतत्प्रवर्तक ईश्वर एव । तत्कालेऽन्यचेतनस्य तत्राभावात् । अत एव व्यवहाराणामाद्युपदेशकरूपेणेश्वरस्य सिद्धिः पदात्मकेन हेतुना भवति । अस्य चोदयनहेतोः मूलतयाऽस्ति प्रशस्तमते-रियमुक्तिः—

सर्गादौ व्यवहारश्च पुंसामन्योपदेशजः ।

नियतत्वात् प्रबुद्धानां कुमारव्यवहारवत्^{३२} ॥

एतत्कारिकाव्याख्यायां कमलशीलः—“प्रशस्तमतिस्त्वाह—सर्गादौ पुरुषाणां व्यवहारोऽन्योपदेशजः उत्तरकालं प्रबुद्धानां प्रत्यर्थनियतत्वात् । अप्रसिद्धवाग्व्यवहाराणां कुमाराणां गवादिषु प्रत्यर्थनियतो वाग्व्यवहारो यथा मात्राद्युपदेशपूर्वकः^{३३}” ।

(५) प्रत्ययपदेन प्रामाण्यं विवक्षितमस्ति । प्रामाण्यमीश्वरं साधयति । वेदज्ञानं कारणगुणजन्यम्, प्रमाणत्वात् आधुनिकप्रमाणवत् । न्यायमते वेदस्य पौरुषेयतया वेदज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यं तद्वक्तुः (कारणस्य) प्रामाण्याधीनम् । स च वक्तेश्वर एव विश्व-निर्माता । तस्मादीश्वरगतप्रामाण्याधीनं वेदज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यम् उक्तप्रत्ययहेतुनोपपद्यते । तथा च वेदज्ञानास्य प्रामाण्यसिद्धये परमेश्वरापेक्षा भवति । अत एव प्रत्ययो हेतुरीश्वरसिद्धौ ।

(६) श्रुतिरीश्वरं साधयति । तथा चानुमानम्—वेदाः सर्वज्ञप्रणीताः वेदत्वात् यो न सर्वज्ञप्रणीतः स न वेदः । यथा व्यवहारार्थमुपन्यस्तानि अस्मदादिवाक्यानि । वेदत्वञ्चानुपलभ्यमानमूलान्तरत्वे सति महाजनपरिगृहीतत्वम् । एवंरीत्या श्रुत्यात्मक-हेतुनेश्वरः सिद्ध्यति ।

(७) वाक्यमीश्वरं साधयति । वेदवाक्यानि पौरुषेयाणि वाक्यत्वादस्मदादि-वाक्यवत् । यथा रघुवंशादिमहाकाव्यस्य कर्तृतया महाकवेः कालिदासस्य स्मरणम् एवं सृष्ट्यादौ वेदस्य स्मारकतया परमेश्वरः आयाति । अत्रोपोद्बलकमापस्तम्बस्य यज्ञपरिभाषायाः कारिका—

अनन्तरञ्च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिःसृताः ।

प्रतिमन्वन्तरञ्चैषा श्रुतिरन्या विधीयते ॥

अत्र श्रुतिवाक्यरूपहेतुद्वयप्रदर्शनमनुमानस्य व्यतिरेकान्वयदृष्टान्तद्वारा क्रमशः स्वोक्तिपोषणात्मकमिति मन्ये ।

एतेषां प्रत्ययश्रुतिवाक्यात्मकहेतूनां मूलम्—मन्त्रायुर्वेदप्रामाण्यवच्च तत्प्रामाण्य-माप्तप्रामाण्या^{३४} दित्येतत्सूत्रतात्पर्यटीकायां मिलति । अत्र वाचस्पतिमिश्रः प्रतिपाद-यति—तस्माद्यो वर्णाश्रमाचारव्यवस्थापक आगमो महाजनपरिगृहीतः स तत्प्रणीतः आप्तोक्तत्वात् । प्रमाणं मन्त्रायुर्वेदवाक्यवदिति संप्रधार्यते^{३५} । ...तत्वारिशेष्याद्वेदा एव सकललोकयात्रामुद्ग्रहन्तो हिताहितप्राप्तिपरिहारोपायम् उपदिशन्तः ईश्वरप्रणीताः इत्यवगच्छामः^{३६} । ...मन्त्रायुर्वेदवाक्यानि सर्वज्ञकर्तृकाणि महाजनपरिग्रहे सत्य-लौकिकार्थप्रतिपादकत्वात् यानि तु न सर्वज्ञपूर्वकाणि तानि नैवं रूपाणि यथा वातपुत्रीयवाक्यानि—इति व्यतिरेकी हेतुः^{३७} । ...तदेवं सर्वज्ञपूर्वकत्वे सति सिद्ध-माप्तोक्तत्वेन मन्त्रायुर्वेदप्रामाण्यम् ओदनार्थो पचेदिति लौकिकवाक्यवदिति । महाप्रलये त्वीश्वरेण वेदान् प्रणीय सृष्ट्यादौ तत्संबन्धः प्रवर्त्यत एव^{३८} । अयञ्च वाचस्पतिमिश्रः यथाऽत्र तात्पर्यटीकायां वेदकर्तृतयेश्वरं साधयति तथा पातञ्जलभाष्य-व्याख्यायामपि ।

न्यायकुसुमाञ्जली प्राचीनाचार्यप्रभावः

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(८) संख्याविशेषोऽप्यश्वरसिद्धौ हेतुर्भवति । तथाहि प्रलयानन्तरं सृष्ट्यादौ द्वयणुकपरिमाणनिर्माणार्थं परमाणुगतद्वित्वसंख्यायाः कारणस्यापेक्षाबुद्धेः आश्रयतया परमेश्वरः सिद्ध्यति । अस्य च मूलं कार्यात्मकहेतोर्मूलनिर्देश एव गतार्थमिति पृथङ् न तत्प्रदर्शितम् । अस्य हेतोस्तद्व्याख्यानरूपत्वात् ।

न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलेः प्रथमे स्तवके अदृष्टाधिष्ठातृतयेश्वरसिद्धावुदयनस्य प्रयासोऽपि न्यायवार्तिककारस्योद्योतकरस्य युक्त्या प्रभावितः । तथा च न्यायवार्तिकम्—धर्माधर्मौ बुद्धिमत्कारणाधिष्ठितौ पुरुषस्योपभोगं कुरुतः कारणत्वात् वास्यादिवत् ३८ ।

कुसुमाञ्जली प्राचीनाचार्याणां परोक्षप्रभावोऽपि विवेचकानां दृष्टिपथातिथ्यं भजते । उदयनस्यान्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां सामान्यतः कार्यकारणभावसिद्धिः ज्ञानश्रीमित्रोद्धृतस्य नैयायिकवित्तोक्तस्य मतवादेन सुस्पष्टं प्रभाविताऽस्तीति ३९ । तथा हि कार्यमात्रे सकर्तृकत्वस्य सिद्धावितरबाधसहकारात्मकानुमानेनेश्वरस्य सिद्धिः नैयायिकेन वित्तोक्तेन कृतास्तीति ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावलिरत्र प्रमाणम् ४० ।

घटादिप्रसिद्धकार्येभ्यो गिरिनदीप्रभृतिषु वैधर्म्यानुपलम्भात् घटादेः सकर्तृकत्वादेव गिरिनद्यादेरपि सकर्तृकत्वादेव गिरिनद्यादेरपि सकर्तृकत्वं सिद्ध्यति ।

ज्ञानश्रीमित्रोद्धृतस्य नैयायिकशङ्करस्य मतमप्युदयनं प्रभावितवान् ४१ । कुसुमाञ्जलेरेतादृशवक्तव्यस्य विद्यमानत्वात् । दृष्टान्तदार्ष्टान्तिकयोः भेदप्रदर्शनेन साधनस्यायुक्तताप्रतिपादनम् असङ्गतम् । अन्यथानुमानमात्रस्योच्छेदापत्तिः स्यात् इति नैयायिकभूषणकारस्य मतम् ४२ प्रभावोऽपि कुसुमाञ्जली पञ्चमे स्तवके परिलक्षितो भवति ।

एवं कुसुमाञ्जली धर्मकीर्त्यादिबौद्धदार्शनिकाचार्याणां युक्तिनिवहस्य पूर्वपक्षतयाकलनं तेषां परोक्षप्रभावद्योतकम् ।

यद्यपि न्यायदर्शने निवृत्तविदः मतमस्ति यदुदयनस्य प्रधानः पूर्वपक्षी कल्याणरक्षितः आसीत् । तस्यैवेश्वरभङ्गकारिकायाः खण्डनं कुसुमाञ्जलावस्ति । किन्तु विचारणायां नैतत् समीचीनं प्रतिभाति । ईश्वरभङ्गकारिकाः म० म० विष्णुशेखरभट्टाचार्येण संस्कृतभाषायामनूदिताः ४४ नैवेतिवृत्तविदां मतं पोषयन्ति । किन्तु कल्याणरक्षितेन सहोदयनस्य दूरोपात्त एव संबन्धः परिलक्ष्यते । उदयनस्य मुख्यतमः प्रतिपक्षी बौद्धाचार्यः ज्ञानश्रीमित्रः आसीत् । उभयोः ग्रन्थयोस्तुलनया सुविदितमेतत् सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया विवेचनापराणाम् । ज्ञानश्रीमित्रश्च पूर्वपक्षतयेश्वरवादखण्डनविधौ बहुशः नैयायिकानां सन्दर्भमुद्धृत्य उत्तरपक्षे धर्मकीर्तिकारिकायाः विशदव्याख्यानं विधायैव कृतकृत्यतामावहति । अत एवोदयनज्ञानश्रीमित्रयोः पारस्परिकः संबन्धः घनिष्ठतमः । उदयनस्तु आत्मतत्त्वविवेकनाम्नि स्वग्रन्थे बहुत्र पूर्वपक्षतया ज्ञानश्रीमित्रस्य पंक्तीः समुद्धरति । ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावलि सम्पादकेन तत्रभूमिकायां सुस्पष्टमुपपादितमिति शम् ।

सन्दर्भ-सूत्राणि

- १—न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिः—११४
- २—न्यायवार्तिकम् पृ० ७७, २२१, ७४१ (कलकत्तासंस्कृतग्रन्थमाला सं० १८)
- ३—न्या० कु० ११६
- ४—न्या० वा० पृ० ६५० ।
- ५—ता० टी० पृ० ५५ (कलकत्तासंस्कृतग्रन्थमाला सं० १८)
- ६—न्या० कु० ११८
- ७—ता० टी० पृ० ५५
- ८—न्या० कु० ३१८
- ९—न्या० कु० ३१८ गद्यभागः
- १०—ता० टी० पृ० ४७६
- ११—न्या० कु० ३१०
- १२—न्या० वा० पृ० ५३१
- १३—न्या० वा० पृ० १७३
- १४—न्या० कु० १११४
- १५—न्या० भा० पृ० १८८ (कलकत्तासंस्कृतग्रन्थमाला सं० १८)
- १६—न्या० भा० पृ० ७२७, ८५१, ८७६
- १७—न्या० कु० ३१२ । गद्यभागः
- १८—ता० टी० पृ० ७३५
- १९—न्या० कु० ५११
- २०—न्या० वा० पृ० ६४५
- २१—तत्त्वसंग्रहस्य कारिका ४७
- २२—त० सं० का० ४६
- २३—त० सं० पृ० ४३, ४४, ५७, ७८, २६४, २६६
- २४—सम्मतिटीका पृ० १०१, ७१६, १३२८
- २५—वैशेषिकदर्शनस्य भूमिका पृ० १४, मुनिजम्बुविजयसंपादनम् । जी० ओ० एस० प्रकाशनम् ।
- २६—त० सं० का० ५४
- २७—त० सं० का० ५४ व्याख्याभागः ।
- २८—ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावलिः पृ० २३८
- २९—न्यायकणिकामञ्जलश्लोकः
- ३०—तात्पर्यटीका पृ० ११४
- ३१—ज्ञानश्री० नि० पृ० २३६

न्यायकुसुमाञ्जली प्राचीनाचार्यप्रभावः

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- ३२—त० सं० का० ५१
 ३३—त० सं० का० ५१ व्याख्याभागः एवं सम्मतिटीका पृ० १०१
 ३४—न्या० सू० २।८।६१
 ३५—ता० टी० पृ० ५६६
 ३६—ता० टी० पृ० ५६६
 ३७—ता० टी० पृ० ५६८
 ३८—ता० टी० पृ० ५६८ एवं ५७१
 ३९—न्या० वा० पृ० ६४७
 ४०—ज्ञानश्री० नि० पृ० २३५
 ४१—ज्ञानश्री० नि० पृ० २३७, २४२
 ४२—ज्ञानश्री० नि० पृ० २३४
 ४३—ज्ञानश्री० नि० पृ० २३६
 ४४—मिथिलारिसर्च इन्स्टीट्यूटबुलेटिनप्रथमभागस्य प्रथमखण्डः ।

GAUḌAPĀDA'S RAPPROACHMENT BETWEEN BUDDHISM AND VEDĀNTA

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The Date and Works of Gauḍapāda.

One of the most important philosophical texts written in ancient India is the Āgamaśāstra,¹ often called Gauḍapādakārikā or Māṇḍūkyakārikā. It is attributed to Gauḍapāda, traditionally supposed to be the grand-teacher of Śaṅkarācārya (cir. 800 A. D.). It is possible that Gauḍapāda hailed from Bengal (Gauḍa), and the name seems to be an epithet rather than a personal name². Opinion is divided with regard to his date. The tradition, which makes him a grand-guru of the Advaita teacher Śaṅkara, would place him in cir. 800 A. D. as the latter is supposed to have been born in cir. 788 A. D.³ On the other hand, it has been pointed out that since some extracts resembling the verses of the Āgamaśāstra have been quoted in the Tibetan translation of the Tarkajvālā of Bhāviviveka usually placed in cir. 500 A. D., Gauḍapāda can also be placed in the same century⁴. It may be pointed out here that Bhavya or Bhāviviveka, the noted Svātantrika-Mādhyaṃika teacher, seems to have flourished in cir. 600 A. D. and was a contemporary of the Vijñānavāda teacher Dharmapāla (cir. 550-610 A. D.) of Nālandā⁵. We may place Gauḍapāda in the middle of the 6th century A. D. But we cannot be certain about the tradition that Śaṅkara was his direct pupil. To Gauḍapāda are ascribed, apart from the Āgamaśāstra, the following three works : Śaṅkhyakārikā-bhāṣya, Uttaragītā and the Subhagodayastuti. The authorship of these works, however, seems to be doubtful.

The text of the Āgamaśāstra is divided into four chapters (prakaraṇas) and consists of 215 memorial verses (kārikās). The work starts as a commentary on the Māṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad but assumes the form of an original treatise. Its first chapter elucidates the text of the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad ; the second discusses the falsity (Vaitathya) of the phenomenal experience; the third chapter is on non-duality, while the fourth is captioned Alātaśānti, literally 'the extinction of the burning coal' or 'the quiescence of the fire-brand-circle', a well-known simile signifying the unreality of phenomenal diversity.

2. *Different Theories of Interpretation of the Āgamaśāstra.*

Dr. Walleser had pointed out that the Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda bears considerable Mahāyāna Buddhist influence; Dr. V. Bhattacharya had discussed, with remarkable thoroughness, the Mahāyāna Buddhist contents in this text, and therefore in the classical Advaita Vedānta. But he was of the view that the IVth chapter, the Alātaśānti prakaraṇa, cannot be regarded as an integral part of the Āgamaśāstra. He even held that the four chapters of it "are four independent treatises and are put together in a volume under the title of Āgamaśāstra." The opinion is shared by Dr. T. R. V. Murti who remarks that the first three chapters are the works of "a keen Vedāntin" while the fourth chapter was "written most probably by a Buddhist"⁸. Dr. R. D. Karmakar seems to have taken great pains to show that all the four chapters of the treatise are from the pen of Gauḍapāda, and that there is no Buddhist influence in its contents except the Buddhist phraseology⁹. Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, however, held that "there is sufficient evidence in his kārīkās for thinking that he was possibly himself a Buddhist, and considered that the teachings of the Upaniṣads tallied with those of Buddha"¹⁰. Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gopinatha Kavirāja seems to recognise the fact that Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamakaśāstra had influenced the thought of the Gauḍapādakārīkās¹¹.

In our humble opinion, there is no cogent reason to doubt that the 215 verses of the Āgamaśāstra are from the pen of a single author. If we assume that the fourth chapter is not an integral part of the Āgamaśāstra or that the four chapters are four independent texts from the pen of four different authors, we have to confront with such questions: Who is the author of the Alātaśānti prakaraṇa? Who are those authors of four independent treatises? Who put together the four chapters into one volume and why? These problems, says Dr. T. R. V. Murti, are "a matter of conjecture."¹² It is difficult to accept such a view. It is all the more difficult to appreciate those attempts that exclude the possibility of doctrinal borrowings from Buddhist thought by classical Vedāntists like Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara. "It is our contention", Dr. Murti asserts, "that there could not be acceptance of any doctrinal content by either side from the other as each had a totally different background of tradition and conception of reality". Realising, however, that "there is no difference between the Absolute of Vedānta and that of the Mādhyamika or Vijñānavāda," he is constrained to admit that "there has been borrowing of technique and not of tenets."¹³ This assertion cannot be maintained.

Hinduism borrowed freely from Buddhism, just as Mahāyānism borrowed from Paurāṇic Brahmanism. Vedic religion did not favour ascetic way of life, it exalted the household life; ¹⁴ the greatest of Brahmanical teachers before Buddha, namely, Yājñavalkya, was a householder and had two wives. In the time of the Buddha, the Śramaṇas or ascetics were denounced as 'outcastes' (Vasalak) in Brahmanical circles¹⁵. One Brahmanical law-giver even attributed the introduction of the institution of monastic ordination (pravrajyā) to a demon (asura)¹⁶. These examples show the Brahmanical dislike for Śramaṇic or ascetic culture in early Buddhist and pre-Buddhist days. Subsequently, however, when Jainism and Buddhism gained popularity and became forces to be reckoned with, the Brahmanical teachers and authors of Brahmanical law-books began to assimilate the elements of Śramaṇic culture, and even evolved elaborate rules for the life of a Sannyāsin. Nobody can deny the fact that the earliest ascetics or Sannyāsins known to Indian history were the Buddhist and Jaina bhikṣus and Śramaṇas, and that, in course of time, Brahmanism also accepted this originally non-Brahmanical tradition of monasticism. The same is true of the tenet of Ahimsā, which was borrowed by Brahmanism from Jainism and Buddhism. Then, the followers of Buddhism and Brahmanism had totally different traditions and concepts of reality. Yet we find the Brahmanical priests and religious teachers of Paurāṇic Hinduism accepting Buddha Śākyamuni as an Incarnation (avatāra) of Viṣṇu, the supreme deity¹⁷. These examples from India's religious history prove that Dr. Murti's view is untenable.

It is impossible to rule out the strong possibility of doctrinal borrowing and acceptance of doctrinal contents by the Vedāntists from the Buddhists. It would be historically correct to say that the Advaita Vedānta of the school of Śaṅkara has been influenced by the tenets and techniques of the systems of Nāgārjuna (100 B. C.-100 A. D.) and Maitreya-nātha (300 A. D.). The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda is a document of rapproachment between Buddhism and Vedānta, and points out the hybrid origin of Advaita doctrine of Vedānta.

3. *Vedānta and Buddhism before Gauḍapāda*

The Vedāntasūtras or the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa are theistic rather than monistic in content. Before Gauḍapāda they were being commented upon by avowed dualists¹⁸. No Brahmanical author or thinker before Gauḍapāda is known to have expounded monistic (advaita) doctrine¹⁹. The scattered seeds of monism in the Upaniṣads²⁰ were developed

for the first time by Gauḍapāda (cir. 600 A. D.) and perfected by Śaṅkara (cir. 800 A. D.) who established the classical form of Advaita Vedānta. Śaṅkara himself seems to prove that no one before Gauḍapāda had taught the monistic Vedānta when he credits his grand-guru with the discovery of the advaita doctrine, which, according to his belief, lay hidden deep in the Vedas²¹. This statement of Śaṅkara also demolishes the modern myth about the originality of monistic absolutism of classical Vedānta.

It is admitted that pre-Gauḍapāda Vedānta is neither systematic nor monistic, and, that Gauḍapāda flourished and wrote his Āgamaśāstra after all the important Vijñānavāda and Mādhyamika philosophers had lived and diffused the idealistic, absolutistic and monistic tenets of Buddhist philosophy.. It stands to reason, therefore, that the Advaita turn in Vedānta in and after Gauḍapāda, was due to Buddhist influence in both its tenets and techniques.

It is well-known that the doctrine of two truths, Vyāvahārika (phenomenal) and pāramārthika (transcendental), was first expounded by Nāgārjuna (cir. 100 B. C.-100 A. D.) in his Mādhyamakaśāstra and was subsequently propagated by Āryadeva (100 A. D.-200 A. D.), Bhāvaviveka (600 A. D.), Candrakīrti (560-620 A. D.) and Śāntideva (cir. 700 A. D.)²². But the seeds of this doctrine are traceable in the Pāli canon, while a whole Mahāyāna Sūtra, now lost in Sanskrit but extant in Tibetan translation, extracts from which are quoted by Candrakīrti and Prajñākaramati (cir. 800 A. D.), was devoted to the exposition of this double-truth theory. This text is called the Āryasatyadvayāvatārasūtra.²³ It is legitimate to suppose that the classical Vedāntists took over this theory from the Buddhists. Nāgārjuna, who cannot be placed after 130 A. D.²⁴ was the father of the kārikā style in Sanskrit literature. After him many other Buddhist and Brahmanical philosophical texts were composed in the same style, e. g. the Abhisamayālaṅkārikā, the Sāṃkhyakārikā and the Gauḍapādakārikā, etc. The doctrine that this phenomenal world is void of truth (vitatha, false) and its appearance is due to illusion (viparyāsa) born of ignorance (avidyā) is well known to the oldest Buddhists. The world is often called void (*Suññā loko ti vuccati*) and is compared to a house set on fire²⁵. The goal of nirvāṇa is often understood to mean the extinction of this fire. The method of affirming the transcendental truth by a system of relentless denial of the reality of phenomenal world was evolved first in Buddhist quarters by Nāgārjuna. This Buddhist philosopher may well be regarded as the father of Indian

system of dialectics, and he was the first author to give a prominent and systematic exposition of the method of fourfold description (Catuḥkoṭi), though the method is already repeatedly employed in the Pāli Nikāyas²⁶. It has been rightly said that the description of the Pratītyasamutpāda in negative terms in the school of Nāgārjuna, and the Buddhist theory of phenomenality (saṃvṛti) have furnished the foundations of the māyāvāda doctrine of Śaṅkara's system²⁷.

The doctrine of non-dual idealistic Absolute was developed first by the Buddhists in the Sandhinirmocanasūtra, the Laṅkāvatārasūtra, and it received its classical form at the hands of Maitreyanātha (300 A. D.), Asaṅga (400 A. D.) and Vasubandhu (500 A. D.)²⁸; Diṇṇāga (480-540 A. D.) had declared that "the Supreme Gnosis is the same as the non-dual Absolute."

The central teaching of all the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras, the earliest of which dates from cir. 200 B. C., is that this phenomenal world is illusory (māyopama) and the ultimate truth is transcendental, beyond the reach of thought and words²⁹. The entities, the elements of mind and matter, are known as 'dharmas' exclusively in Buddhist philosophy³⁰. The word 'vitatha' as a technical philosophical term occurs first in Buddhist literature; the same is true of the phrase 'prapañcopaśamam'. The characteristic illustrations, employed to explain the illusory nature of the phenomenal world, which became current among the later Buddhist and Brahmanical philosophers, had been used first in the early Mahāyānasūtras as also in the works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva³¹.

4. *Correspondence between Āgamaśāstra and Mahāyāna Śāstras*

The age of Gauḍapāda was one of philosophical controversies and almost warlike activities of theologians espousing different creeds. But it was also an age when rapprochement between Brahmanical theology and Mahāyāna Buddhism was nearly completed: an age when Parama-Sauggatas like Emperor Harṣa worshipped Brahmanical gods; Bodhisattvas like Avalokiteśvara assumed the form of Maheśvara; Brahmanical images were being enshrined in Buddhist temples; Buddhist logicians like Śaṅkara-rānanda were being quoted as authorities on Pratyabhijñā-śāstra by Abhinavagupta and Jayaratha; an age, when the historical Buddha was being relegated to the realm of Vaiṣṇava mythology by being transformed into an Avatāra of the supreme God³². In such an age it is neither curious

nor surprising to see Gauḍapāda endeavouring to harmonise the basic principles of Buddhist and Brahmanical philosophies. He, therefore, commented on the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad on the one hand, and paid devout homage to Buddha, on the other. He was true to the spirit of his age. Buddhist contents in the Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda are already well known to scholars. Some have acknowledged while others have explained them away. In the following paragraphs we propose to review the correspondence and rapprochement between the Āgamaśāstra (abbreviated as AŚ) and some early Buddhist sources in Sanskrit.

AŚ, 1.7. refers to those who view creation as being of the nature of dream and illusion: *Svapna-māyā-sarūpeti sṛṣṭiranyair vikalpitā*. This obviously refers to the Buddhist view of the world; e. g. *māyādi-svapna-saḍṛśam vipaśyanto vimucyante*. (Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra, X.251; X.279; X.291 etc.,) and *māyā ca sattvās ca advayam etadadvaidhikāram ; iti te svapnaś ca sattvāśca advayam etadadvaidhikāram; sarvadharmā api devaputrā, māyopamā svapnopamā*. Aṣṭa-Sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (Ed. BST-4) p. 20.

The Buddhist philosophical terms occur in the very first chapter, e. g., Vikalpa, AŚ, I. 18; prapañca; AŚ, I. 17, and Upaśamah Śivah, AŚ, I.29. The idea expressed in AŚ, I.22. corresponds to the Buddha's perception of the triple world; *triṣu dhāmasu* is the same as Buddhist *tridhātu*; the great ascetic (Mahāmuni) referred to here is no other than Buddha Śākyamuni also called Mahāśramaṇa.

In AŚ, II.1, Gauḍapāda, like Vasubandhu. says that "as in dream, so in waking, the objects seen are unreal" ., cp. Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi Viṃśatikā, verses 1-2. "The wisemen (who) speak of the sameness of dream and waking state", AŚ, II.5, are clearly the Idealistic (Vijñānavādin) Buddhist thinkers, who are also referred to as "the knowers of the mind" at AŚ, II. 25.

The first line of AŚ, II.31:

Svapnamāye yathā dṛṣṭe gandharvanagaraṃ yathā, repeats the first line of MŚ, VII.34 :

Yathā māyā yathā svapne gandharvanagaraṃ yathā.

The thought contained in these two verses is absolutely identical, namely, that the world of sense is unreal like illusion, dream and gandharvanagara. The negative conception of the ultimate truth (paramārtha) expressed in AŚ, II.32, recalls so many verses of the Mādhyamakaśāstra

(MŚ), e.g., MŚ, opening lines, and MŚ, chapter XXV. Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (BST-4) p. 177—*Sarvakalpa-vikalpa-prahīno hi tathāgataḥ*;

Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā (Ed. Conze) Chap. 14,—*Sarva Samjñā apagatā te Buddhā Bhagavantaḥ* and Mādhyamakaśāstra, XVIII. 9.—

Aparapratyayaṁ śāntaṁ prapañcair aprapañcitam|

Nirvikalpam anānārtham etattattvasya lakṣaṇam||

have manifestly supplied the thought and words for the AŚ, II.35.

Vītarāgabhayakrodhair munibhir vedapāragaiḥ|

Nirvikalpo hyayaṁ dṛṣṭaḥ prapañcopaśamo 'dvayaḥ||

Dr. S.N. Das Gupta is right when he says that the Buddhists were the first to use the words *prapañcopaśamaṁ Śivam*.

The technical Buddhist term 'Vitatha' occurs for the first time in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (cir. 200 B.C.), and also in the Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā (cir. 300 A. D.)³⁴. The third chapter of the AŚ is captioned Vaitathya, 'on falsity'.

The use of the word 'Saṁghāta' (composite, aggregate) in AŚ, III. 3, for objective bodies is a Buddhist usage, and gives the same meaning as is given by such Buddhist technical terms as 'Sanskrit' (composed, compounded) and 'Skandha' (aggregate, group). The statement that 'all aggregates are like a dream' (*Samghātāḥ svapnavat sarve*) is in perfect accord with such Buddhist Scriptural statement as, for instance, are reproduced below :

*'Svapnagatikā hi subhute sarvadharmāḥ;*³⁵

*'Supinam vidyud abhram ca evaṁ dṛṣṭavyam :*³⁶

Yathaiva gandharvapuraṁ marīcikā,

Yathaiva māyā supinam yathaiva|

Svalhāvasūnyā tu nimittabhāvanā,

*Tathopamān jānatha sarvadharmān||*³⁷

The arguments for the theory of non-origination (ajātivāda) of things or entities advanced at AŚ, III, 20; 28, seem to bear an unmistakable influence of the Mādhyamakaśāstra.³⁸ In AŚ, III.29; 30, however, Gauḍapāda seems to give a very faithful expression to the Vijñānavāda tenet; two

nearest parallels are the two verses of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra (III.65 and 121). The essence of these verses in both the works is that the non-dual (citta, mana) appears as dual in the forms of the perceiver and the perceptible, and that its manifestations in dream and waking states are alike³⁹. It should be observed that in AŚ, III. 33, the first line seems to be eminently Vijñānavādin, while the second line equally clearly Upaniṣadic; here, then, we find a perfect combination of two thought-currents. The view that “knowledge and the object of knowledge are identical” (jñānajñeya—bhinna—AŚ, III.33) is peculiarly a Vijñānavāda view repeatedly taught by Vasubandhu and the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra⁴³.

Gauḍapāda's description of the ultimate state of spiritual perfection in the three successive verses, i. e. AŚ, III.37-39, is strongly reminiscent of numerous passages in early Mahāyāna-sūtras describing the nature of Tathāgata or Nirvāṇa⁴¹. The mention of ‘intangible yoga’ (asparśa yoga) at AŚ, III.39, is most likely an allusion to Nirvāṇa. The adjectives used for Nirvāṇa at AŚ, III. 47, are in full agreement with Buddhist description of the final state of Freedom⁴². We have seen that the hypothesis of the IVth chapter of AŚ, entitled ‘Alātaśānti’, being an independent treatise is not well-grounded; the course of thought in the AŚ reaches its logical conclusion in its fourth chapter. The Laṅkāvatārasūtra uses the words ‘alātacakra’;⁴³ Āryadeva has also used this illustration in his work⁴⁴. Both these authorities are older than the Āgamaśāstra. The use of the word ‘dharma’ at AŚ, IV.1, in the sense of an entity is “peculiarly Buddhistic”. The opening verse of this chapter adores the Supremely English-tended one (Sambuddha) who is the best among men (*dvipadām varam*), who, with knowledge infinite like the sky realised the dharmas (lofty and deep) like the Space, and who is identical with the object of wisdom. In Buddhism, the supreme knowable is the law of pratīyasamutpāda, and it is often identified with Buddha so that latter is the goal of the highest wisdom (jñeyābhinna)⁴⁵. Likewise, AŚ, IV. 2, repeats the salutation to Him, who being the benefactor of all living creatures (*Sarva-sattva-sukho hitaḥ*), taught the intangible-contemplation (asparśa Yoga, probably asamprajñāta samādhi), and a doctrine which can neither be disputed nor contradicted⁴⁶. Commenting on this verse, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan says that “the kārikā is an attempt to combine in one whole the negative logic of the Mādhyamikas with the positive idealism of the Upaniṣads”⁴⁷. Eminent scholars including M. Walleser, H. Jacobi, La Vallée Poussin, V. Bhattacharya, S. N. Dasgupta, V. Sukhtankar and others have already discussed in detail the Buddhist influence in the last chapter of the Āgamaśāstra. There is no need to repeat what has already been acknowledged

by others. In order to complete my survey, I wish to add the following notes to this paper. AŚ. IV, 3ff. expound the theory of non-origination of dharmas, a theory characteristically peculiar to the Mādhyamikas. AŚ, IV. 22-23 are comparable to Mādhyamakaśāstra, I.1, 7 and XXI.7,13, which deny causation and origination. Words such as 'prajñapti' (cognition), 'citta' (consciousness), and 'viparyāsa' (illusion or false appearance), AŚ, IV. 25-27, are all technical Buddhist words known to older texts of Buddhism. AŚ, IV. 33 is thoroughly Buddhist both in thought and words; the statement "all dharmas are unreal" (*Sarve dharmā mṛṣā*) is comparable to Nāgārjunā's statement 'all dharmas are void' (*Sarve dharmāḥ śūnyāḥ*). AŚ, IV. 36 have numerous parallels in Vijñānavāda texts and the Laṅkāvatāra (chapter X); AŚ. IV. 42, seems to speak in the vein of early Mahāyānasūtras like the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, which explain away the realistic teachings. AŚ. IV. 57 is comparable to Mādhyamakaśāstra, XXIV. 8-10; while AŚ, IV. 58-59 recall Catuḥśataka, X. 14, and so many passages in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā and the Vajracchedikā. AŚ, IV. 61-62 are practically similar to Laṅkāvatāra, III. 65,121. AŚ, IV. 68-70 seem to paraphrase a few verses of the Samādhirājasūtra (Ed. BST-2, pp. XXXIX. 13-18) and the Laṅkāvatāra (X. 24, 37). Mention of 'Agrayāna' at AŚ, IV. 90, obviously refers to Buddhayāna; the expressions like 'Sarve dharmā anādayah', AŚ, IV. 91; 'Ādibuddhāḥ', AŚ, IV. 92, and 'Ādiśāntāḥ', AŚ, IV. 93, etc. have manifest Buddhist flavour around them.

References

1. The following two editions have been used in this paper: The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda, edited with an Introduction and translation into English and Sanskrit by Vidhuśekhara Bhattacharya; University of Calcutta, 1943, 1950; Gauḍapādakārikā, edited with an Introduction and English translation by R. D. Karmarkar, BORI, POONA, 1953.
2. M. Walleiser held that Gauḍapāda's theories represented the tenets of a Bengal School of thought, and he placed the text of the Māṇḍūkya-kārikās in 550 A. D. A. B. Keith, Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads, HOS, Vol. 32, 1925, p. 503, note 1.
3. S. N. Dasgupta (History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1926, p. 423), held that "in order to be able to teach Śamkara, Gauḍapāda must have been living till at least 800 A. D."
4. Vidhuśekhara Bhattacharya, (Ed.) Āgamaśāstra, (1950), pp. 43 ff. R. D. Karmarkar, (Ed.) Gauḍapāda-kārikā, pp. III-IV. The present writer cannot categorically say that the Tarkajvālā an auto-commentary on Mādhyamakahrdayakārikā of

Bhāvaviveka, actually quotes passages from the work of Gauḍapāda. For brief notices of the Sanskrit mss. of this work of Bhāvaviveka see Rāhula Sāmkṛtyāyana in J. B. O. R. S., Vol., XXIII, Pt. I. The ms. itself is preserved in the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

5. The contemporaneity of Bhāvaviveka and Dharmapāla is attested by Hsuan Tsang; Cf. Thomas Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (Delhi reprint 1961), vol. II, pp. 215 ff.; E. Obermiller, Bu-Ston's History of Buddhism Part II, Heidelberg, 1932, pp. 134-36. S. Radhakrishnan (Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, p. 452, note) seems to assign Gauḍapāda to 7th century A. D. but he also inclines towards M. Walleser's view quoted above.
6. Der altere Vedānta, pp. 5 f. as quoted in A. B. Keith, loc. cit.
7. Āgamaśāstra (Ed.) pp. IV, LVII.
8. The Central Philosophy of Buddhism, London, 1955, pp. 14-15.
9. Gauḍapādakārikā (Ed.), pp. XXX-XLI.
10. History of Indian Philosophy, vol. I, p. 423.
11. Bhāratīya Saṃskṛti Aur Sādhana, Pt. I, Patna. 1962, pp. 132-133.
12. The Central Philosophy of Buddhism, loc. cit. note. 5.
13. Ibid, pp. 116-117.
14. P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II pt. I, BORI, 1941, p. 420 note 998.
15. Suttanipāta, Vasala Sutta (Khud. Nik., Vol. I. Nālandā Ed., 1959) p. 287.
16. Bauddhāyana Dharmasūtra, II. 6.30.
17. Varāha Purāṇa, IV. 2; Matsya Purāṇa, 285. 6-7, Agni Purāṇa, 49. 8.
18. Cf. The Brahmasūtras edited and translated by S. Radhakrishnan, London, 1959, Introduction.
19. S. N. Dasgupta, op. cit., 422; S. Radhakrishnan, Ind. Phil. II, P. 452.
20. A. B. Keith, op. cit., II, pp. 516 f.
21. Śamkara's Commentary on the Gauḍapādakārikā, (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series Ed.) p. 214; S. N. Dasgupta, op. cit., pp. 422-423.
22. Mādhyamakāśāstra, (Ed. in BST No. 10, Darbhanga, 1960) XXIV. 8-10; Catuḥśataka (V. Bhattacharya's restoration, Viśvabhāratī. 1931) VIII.8; Madhyamārthasaṃgraha (L. M. Joshi's Edition, Dharmadūta. Vol. 29 NOS. 3-4, 1964); Madhyamakāvatāra (No. 4. Śāstrī's restoration JOR, vol. IV-VI) VI. 23-28; Bodhicaryāvatāra (Ed. in BST No. 12) IX. 2.
23. Vide Samyuttanikāya, vol. I (Nālandā Edition) Arhantasutta, p. 15-*Loke samannaṃ kuṣalo Viḍitvā, Vohāramāteṇa so vohareyyāi Āryasatyadvaivāvatārasūtra Quoted in Prasauṇapadā (BST-10) p. 159 and in Bodhicaryāvatāra-Pañjikā (BST-12) p. 177 Tibetan*

BUDDHISM AND VEDĀNTA

21

version is listed in A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, ed. by H. Ui, M. Suzuki, Y. Kanakura, T. Tada, Tohoku Imperial University, Sendai, 1934. NOS. 3902, 4467.

24. See my article in Maha Bodhi Journal, Vol. 73 NOS. 1-2 (1965).
25. Cf. Mahāvagga (Nālandā Ed.) pp. 13-15, 34 ff.; Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. I (Nālandā Ed.) pp. 3-10; Samyutta Nikāya, Vol. I (Nālandā Ed.), p. 4; Ibid; vol. III, pp. 50-51; Dīgha Nikāya. vol. I (Nālandā Ed.), p. 17; Ibid., vol. III, p. 30; Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā, Ed. by E. Conze (SOR, XIII, Rome) p. 62; Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (Ed. BST), p. 20.
26. Dīgha Nikāya, vol. I, pp. 51-52; Mādhyamakaśāstra, XV. 10; Vīgrahavyāvartanī, 29.
27. Mādhyamakaśāstra (Ed. BST-10), P. L. Vaidya's Introduction, p. XI
28. Cf. Sandhinirmocanasūtra, Ed. by E. Lamotte, Louvain, 1935; Laṅkāvatrasūtra, Ed. by P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1963; Deux Traites de Vasubandhu, ed. pas. Levi, Paris, 1925; Go Tucci, Doctrines of Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga, Calcutta, 1930.
29. Prajñāpāramitā-Piṇḍrātha ed. in BST NO. 4, p. 263; cf. p. 20.
30. Cf. Stcherbatsky, The Central Conception of Buddhism.
31. Vide Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā-Sūtra (Ed. BST-4) p. 20; Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra (Ed. BST-6) Chapter III; Vajracchedikā (Ed. Conze) pp 35, 42, 62; Mādhyamaka-Śāstra, VII. 34; Catuḥ-Śataka, XIII. 25; Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra, II. 166.
32. See author's Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India (During 7th and 8th centuries A. D.), Delhi, 1966, Chapters II, X and XII.
33. S. N. Dasgupta, op. cit p. 425 note.
34. Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Ed, BST-4, p. 53; Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā, Ed. Conze p. 42.
35. Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (Ed, BST.4), p. 149.
36. Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā (Ed. Conze), p. 62. Cf. Mādhyamakaśāstra, VII. 34; Catuḥśataka, XIII. 25.
37. Samādhirājasūtra (Ed. Vaidya, BST-2, 1961), IX.11.
38. See. e. g., MŚ. Chapter I.
39. Compare, e. g. AŚ—III. 29-

Tathā svapne dvayābhāsaṁ spandate māyayā mānaḥ

Tathā jāgraddvayābhāsaṁ spandate māyayā mānaḥ

With Laṅkāvatārasūtra, III. 65—

Cittamātram na dr̥ṣyo'sti dvidhā cittam hi dr̥śyate|

Grāhyagrāhakabhāvena śāśvatoccheda-varjitam||

Cf. V. Bhattacharya in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. X, 1934, pp.5-6.

40. Cf. Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi vimśatikā, verse 1; Deux Traités de Vasubandhu, ed. Vasubandhu, ed. S. Levi, verse 17, p. 35; Laṅkāvatārasūtra, X. 58

41. AŚ, III, 37— X. 112 etc.

Sarvābhilāpavigataḥ sarvacintāsamutthitāḥ|

Supraśāntaḥ sakṛjjyotiḥ samādhiracalābhayaḥ||

Compare with Aṣṭasāhasrikā (Ed. BST-4) p. 177—

Sarvakalpa-vikalpa-prahino hi tathāgataḥ|

ibid. p. 96—*Acintyā Bhagavān prajñāpāramitā|*

tathā hi Subhūte Prajñāpāramitā na cittena jñātvayā na cittagamanīyā|

Vajracchedikā. (Ed. Conze) p. 46—*acintyo ayam dharmaparyāyas tathāgatena bhāṣitaḥ Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra (Ed. BST-6) p. 27—atarko atarkāvacarastathāgata vijñeyaḥ Śāriputra Saddharmaḥ|*

Samādhirājasūtra (Ed. BST-2) p. 190—

To asau dharmasvabhāvaṃ jñāti supraśāntam|

42. Laṅkāvatāra, X. 174; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra (BST-6) p. 84-85; Dhammapada, verses 203-204; Mādhyamakāśāstra, XVIII. 9; *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* —“*Tatra tathāgato na kalpayati na vikalpayati| Sarvakalpavikalpajālāvāsanāprapañca vigato hi Śāntamate tathāgataḥ,*” Quoted in Prasannapadā (Ed. BST-10) p. 236.

43. Laṅkāvatārasūtra, X.173.

44. Catuḥśataka. XIII 5.

45. AŚ, IV. 1:—*Jñānenākāśakalpena, dharmān yo gaganopamān |*

Jñeyābhinnena Sambuddhastam vande dvīpadām varam||

Cp. Lalitavistara (Ed. BST-1) Chapter I, verses 1-2; Samyuttanikāya vol. II, p. 340-341. The ipse dixit of Buddha—*yo pratītyasamutpādam paśyati, sa Buddham paśyati*—is well known in Pāli as well as Sanskrit Buddhist texts.

46. Cf. V. Bhattacharya, Āgamaśāstra (Ed.), p. 92-98

47. Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, p. 465; note 2.

THE VARIOUS NAMES FOR THE FAMOUS VAIŚEṢIKA WORK OF PRAŚASTAPĀDA

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The identification of the names of some of the ancient Indian thinkers, as is well known, has raised much controversy or at least differences of opinion among scholars. The names of Patañjali, Vasubandhu, Sureśvara, Praśastapāda are but a few instances in point. Praśastapāda, the first systematiser of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy, has been referred to by authors in no less than ten different ways, even though the variations in the name are often very minute and the word *praśasta* is found at the beginning of all these variations.¹

As in the case of the authors, works too have sometimes been mentioned under different names². In this paper we shall consider the names under which the only work of Praśastapāda that has come down to us³ has been referred to by authors.

The work of Praśastapāda is often referred to by scholars as *Praśastapāda bhāṣyam*. This is a name conferred on the work after the name of its author, just as one refers to the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra-bhāṣyam* as *Śābarabhāṣyam* or to the *Yogasūtrabhāṣyam* as *Pātañjalabhāṣyam* or to the *Nyāyabhāṣyam* as *Vātsyāyanabhāṣyam*. Most probably Praśastapāda himself named it *Padārthadharmasaṃgraha* as suggested in the introductory verse of this work :

praṇamya hetum īśvaram munim kaṇādam anvataḥ /

padārthadharmasaṃgrahaḥ pravakṣyate mahodayaḥ ||

Modern scholars taking cognizance of this fact prefer to call Praśastapāda's work *Padārthadharmasaṃgraha* rather than *Praśastapāda-bhāṣyam*⁴. However, we find that this work has also been quoted under different names in Indian philosophical texts.

Kamalaśīla, the author of the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*⁵ mentions the work of Praśastapāda, as far as I know, only once in his work and then refers to it under the name of *Padārthapraveśaka*. Thus we read in *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* p., 192, 26-27⁶: *tathā hi padārtha praveśake*

granthaḥ “*evaṁ dharmair vinā dharminām eṣa nirdeśaḥ kṛta*” *iti*. This passage corresponds to Padārthadharmasaṁgraha⁷ p. 109,9 : *evaṁ dharmair vinā dharminām uddeśaḥ kṛta iti*.

The colophons at the end of each of the sections of the Nyāyakandali of Śrīdhara refers to the work of Praśastapāda as *Pa d ā r t h a p r a v e ś a*. To cite but one, at the end of the section on substances (*dravyam*) the colophon ends : *iti bhāṭṭaśrīdharakṛtau p a d ā r t h a p r a v e ś a nyāyakanda-līṭikāyām dravyapadārthaḥ samāptaḥ*.⁸

Further in the Nyāyaviniścayavivaraṇa⁹, the commentary of Vādirāja-sūri of Bhāṭṭakalaṅkadeva, the work of Praśastapāda is mentioned under the name of *Pa d ā r t h a p r a v e ś a*. Thus we read there in Vol. I, p.426, 25 : ... *kutaḥ padārthapraveśāu “iha tantuṣu paṭaḥ, iha vīraṇeṣu kaṭaḥ” iti* ... The words quoted here are found in exactly the same formulation in Padārthadharmasaṁgraha p. 696, 10.

In the Vaiśeṣikasūtropaskāra of Śāṅkaramiśra¹⁰ two passages are found wherein reference is made to a work called *Pa d ā r t h a p r a d e ś a*¹¹. If one keeps in mind Śāṅkaramiśra's fondness for using diverse names for one and the same person¹² one is easily tempted to suspect that this is a modified form of the name of a work dealing with the *padārthas*. The first work that it recalls is the Padārthadharmasaṁgraha of Praśastapāda. In fact these two passages have been found in the Padārthadharmasaṁgraha so that the identity of these two works is established beyond doubt.

The two passages quoted by Śāṅkaramiśra from the Padārthapradeśa are :

- (1) Vaiśeṣikasūtropaskāra to sūtra VII,2,26 (p. 348,10-12) : *tad uktaṁ p a d ā r t h a p r a d e ś ā k h y e prakaraṇe “ayutasiddhānām ādhāryādhārabhūtānām yaḥ sambandha ihetiṣatyayahetuḥ sa samavāyaḥ” iti*. This passage corresponds to Padārthadharmasaṁgraha p. 696,3-4 : *ayutasiddhānām ādhāryādhārabhūtānām yaḥ sambandha iha pratyayahetuḥ sa samavāyaḥ*.
- (2) Vaiśeṣikasūtropaskāra to Sūtra IX,2,6 (p. 408,13-17) : *p a d ā r t h a p r a d e ś ā k h y e tu prakaraṇe tad uktaṁ tad yathā “āmnāy-avidhātṛṇām iṣṇām atītānāgatavartamāneṣv atīndriyeṣv artheṣu dharmādiṣu granthopanibaddheṣu vā liṅgādy anapekṣād ātmamanasoḥ*

saṁyogād dharmaviśeṣāc ca prātibhaṁ jñānaṁ yad utpadyate tad ārṣam” iti. This passage is found with slight modifications in Padārthadharmasaṁgraha, p. 621,28-622,1 : *āmnāyavidhātṛṇām ṛṣiṇām atītānāgatavartamāneṣv atīndriyeṣv artheṣu dharmādiṣu granthopanibaddheṣu anupanibaddheṣu cātmamanasoḥ saṁyogād dharmaviśeṣāc ca yat prātibhaṁ yathārthanivedanaṁ jñānam utpadyate tad ārṣam ity ācakṣate.*

Further the work of Praśastapāda was also known under the name of P r a ś a s t a k a r a b h ā ṣ y a m.

Thus Jinavardhanasūri in his commentary to the Saptapadārthī of Śivāditya speaks of Padārthadharmasaṁgraha as p r a ś a s t a k a r a b h ā ṣ y a m.¹³

Again, Rājaśekharasūri while enumerating in his Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya the different Vaiśeṣika works refers to the work of Praśastapāda under the name of P r a ś a s t a k a r a b h ā ṣ y a k a m.¹⁴

While Praśastapādabhāṣyam and Padārthadharmasaṁgraha are the names most commonly used by Indological scholars for the work of Praśastapāda, there were also other names used for the same by some earlier scholars. Thus Luigi S u a l i who wrote his *Introduzione allo studio della filosofia indiana* in 1913, while invariably using the name Praśastapāda for the author, names his work Praśastabhāṣya¹⁵. Since Praśastapāda is also known under the name of Praśasta such a name is quite possible, but I have so far not come across this name for Padārthadharmasaṁgraha in Sanskrit philosophical texts.

Similarly, Otto S t r a u s s who wrote his *Indische Philosophie* in 1925 expressly names Praśastapāda's work d r a v y ā d i ṣ a ḍ p a d ā r t h a b h ā ṣ y a, “Kommentar zu den sechs Kategorien Substanz usw.”¹⁶ In naming the work in this manner the author must have been led by the colophon given at the end of the Padārthadharmasaṁgraha where we read : ... *iti praśastapādācāryaviracitaṁ d r a v y ā d i ṣ a ḍ p a d ā r t h a b h ā ṣ y a m samāptam.* As far as I can see this is an explanatory title of the work rather than its real title.

Thus we see that the only work of Praśastapāda that has come down to us has been known under different names : Praśastabhāṣya, Praśastakarakabhāṣya, Praśastakarakabhāṣyaka,

Praśastapādabhāṣya, Padārthadharmaśaṃgraha, Padārthapraveśa, Padrāthapraveśaka, Padārthapradeśa, and Dravyādiṣaḍpadārthabhāṣya¹⁷. Of these names the first four cannot be said to be the real names of the work, since they are merely named after the author. The last name is found only in a colophon and hence it might probably be an addition of the scribe or of the editor. Further, as we said, it is an explanatory title of the work rather than its real title. Of the remaining four names, only the name Padārthadharmaśaṃgraha is guaranteed in the text by Praśastapāda himself and hence preferable to the others.

References

1. An article dealing with the different names applied to Praśastapāda is in the last stages of its preparation and I hope to have it published in the near future.
2. For example, Śaṅkara's commentary to the Brahmasūtrās, the Brahmasūtra-śāṅkarabhāṣyam is referred to in the colophons of the editions under the name of Śārīrakamīmāṃsābhāṣyam; Ātmatattvaviveka of Udayana is sometimes called Bauddhādhikāra or Bauddhādhikkāra.
3. Although we know that Praśastapāda wrote also an extensive Ṭikā on the Vaiśeṣikasūtras it has been lost to us.
4. For example: E. Frauwallner: Geschichte der indischen Philosophie, Salzburg 1956, p. 17 and *passim*;
G. Bhattacharya: Studies in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Theism. Calcutta 1961, p. 146;
D. N. Shastri: Critique of Indian Realism. Agra 1964, p. 100;
L. Schmithausen: Maṇḍanamīśra's Vibhramavivekaḥ. Wien 1965, p. 156; 185f.
5. The edition used is: Tattvaśaṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita with the commentary of Kamalaśīla. Edited by E. Krishnamacharya, Baroda 1926 (G. O. S. No. XXX).
6. The first number (also in the following references) refers to the page and the second to the line or lines on that page.
7. The edition used is: The Praśastapādabhāṣyam by Praśasta 'Devāchārya, with commentaries Sūktī, Setu and Vyomavatī, ed. by G. Kaviraj (Chow. S. S. No. 61) Benares 1930.
8. Cf. Praśastapādabhāṣya with commentary Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdharabhaṭṭa, ed. by Durgadhar Jha Sarman, Varanasi 1963, p. 226. Cf. also *ibid.* pp. 696, 741, 765, 772, 786.
9. Cf. Nyāya Vinīścaya Vivaraṇa of Śrī Vādirāja Sūri, ed. by M. K. Jain, Kashi 1949 (Jñāna-Piṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha, No. 3)
10. The edition used is: The Vaiśeṣika Darśana, with the commentaries of Śaṅkara Mīśra and Jayanarayana Tarka Pañchānana, Calcutta 1861 (Bibliotheca Indica, 34)

FAMOUS VAIŚEŚIKA WORK OF PRAŚASTAPĀDA

27

11. I do not know whether the reading of the manuscript was *padārthapraveśa* or *padarthapradeśa*. In the absence of possibility to ascertain from the manuscripts whether the variation of *da* in-*pradeśa* is to be ascribed to an illegible handwriting of the scribe—a confusion very easy to make since the Sanskrit handwriting of *va* and *da* might resemble very much when not clearly written, I assume that Śaṅkaramiśra really called this work *Padārthapradeśa*. This assumption seems to be confirmed by the fact that in both the passages the same name occurs.
12. For example, Śaṅkaramiśra uses the names *Praśastācārya*, *Praśastadeva*, *Praśastadevācārya* and *Praśastadevapāda*—all in the plural—for the author of the *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha*.
13. Cf. Śivāditya's *Saptapadārthī* with the commentary by Jinavardhana Sūri, ed. by J. S. Jetley, Ahmedabad 1963, p. 1, line 16. It is, however, to be noted here that Jetley gives a variant reading in a footnote : *praśastapādabhāṣya*
14. As the text was inaccessible to me I had to content myself with the portion of it reproduced by Muni Śrī Jambuvijayaji in the eighth *Parīśiṣṭa* of his edition of the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* with the Commentary of Candrānanda (G. O. S. No. 136) Baroda 1961, pp. 220-224. The passage in question is found on p. 223, 25.
15. L. Suali : *Introduzione allo studio della filosofia indiana*. Pavia 1913, pp. x and 31.
16. O. Strauss : *Indische Philosophie*. München 1925, p. 146.
17. This may not be a complete enumeration. Although I know from the Introduction of A. Thakur to Muni Śrī Jambuvijayaji's edition of the commentary of Candrānanda that *Praśastapāda* has been cited in works such as *Sanmatīṭikā*, these works are inaccessible to me so that I have not yet been able to check up in them whether the *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha* has been referred to in them and, if it has been referred to in them, under what name it has been mentioned.

शङ्कराद्वैतसम्मत आभासवाद

सत्यदेव मिश्र
मद्रास विश्वविद्यालय

शङ्कराचार्य ने अपने प्रस्थानत्रयी के भाष्यों एवं प्रकरणग्रन्थों के माध्यम से आठवीं शताब्दी में अद्वैतवाद को प्रतिष्ठापित किया। अद्वैतवेदान्त के ब्रह्मसत्यत्व, जगन्मिथ्यात्व, जीवेश्वरस्वरूप तथा जीवब्रह्मैकत्व प्रभृति सिद्धान्तों के स्पष्टीकरण के लिए उन्होंने अपने ग्रन्थों में स्थान स्थान पर घटाकाश^१ तथा सूर्यचन्द्रादिप्रतिबिम्ब^२ के दृष्टान्तों एवं अवच्छेद^३, प्रतिबिम्ब^४ और आभास^५ की शब्दावलियों का आश्रय लिया है। इन दृष्टान्तों और शब्दावलियों के वैविध्य के फलस्वरूप शङ्करपरवर्ती वाचस्पति मिश्र, पद्मपादाचार्य तथा मुरेश्वराचार्य आदि अद्वैतवेदान्तिनों ने त्रिविध प्रस्थान प्रतिष्ठापित किया। इन प्रस्थानों को क्रमशः अवच्छेद, प्रतिबिम्ब एवं आभास कहा जाता है। इन ही तीनों प्रस्थानों में मण्डन मिश्र के द्वारा उपस्थापित तथा भामतीकार वाचस्पति मिश्र के द्वारा सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठापित अवच्छेदवाद से प्रतिबिम्ब और आभास पक्षों का अन्तर स्पष्ट स्वीकार किया गया है। पर मुरेश्वराचार्य के द्वारा सिद्धान्तीकृत तथा आनन्दगिरि एवं विद्यारण्य आदि आचार्यों के द्वारा शाखोपशाखतया परिवृंहित आभासवाद को पद्मपादाचार्य के द्वारा उपस्थापित एवं प्रकाशात्मन् के द्वारा मुनिरूपित प्रतिबिम्बवाद में ही अन्तर्गूढ़ कर लिया जाता है, जिसके फलस्वरूप आभासवाद के मुख्य वैशिष्ट्यों का ज्ञान नहीं हो पाता। आभासवाद का यह प्रतिबिम्बवादन्तःपातित्व वस्तुतः आभास के स्वरूपाविवेक तथा आभास और प्रतिबिम्ब के अन्तरों के अनवगम के कारण होता है। अतः प्रस्तुत लेख में आभास के स्वरूप, उपयोग तथा आभास-प्रतिबिम्ब के अन्तरों का संक्षिप्त विवेचन प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है।

आभास-स्वरूप—

शङ्कराचार्य के माण्डूक्योपनिषद्-भाष्य के 'अनाभास' पद-सम्बन्धित व्याख्या^६ से यह ज्ञात होता है कि उनके अनुसार 'कल्पित विषयों का अवभासन' आभास है। जैसे दर्पणस्थ मुखाभास ग्रीवास्थ मुख से भिन्न होता है, उसी प्रकार आभास आत्मा से पृथक् है^७। मिथ्या होते हुए भी उपाधिगत चिदाभास उसी प्रकार आत्मवत् प्रथित होता है^८। आभास जैसे मिथ्या भी मुकुरस्थ मुख ग्रीवास्थ मुख के समान प्रतीत होता है^९। आभास वस्तुतः दर्पणस्थ मुखवत् मिथ्या है^{१०}, अतएव शङ्कराचार्य ने अपने ग्रन्थों में इसे अवस्तु^{११}, अनात्म^{१२} तथा दृक् की छाया^{१३} के रूप में उल्लिखित किया है।

शङ्कराचार्य के शिष्य सुरेश्वराचार्य के बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद् भाष्य वार्तिक के आधार पर 'प्रत्यङ्मात्र चेतनव्यतिरिक्त अन्य समस्त नामरूपात्मक वस्तुव्रात को चिदाभास' कहा जा सकता है^{१३}। अविचारितसंसिद्ध तम के समान उद्भूत होने के कारण चिदाभास अविचारितसंसिद्ध है^{१४}। प्रत्यक्चैतन्यरूप आत्मवस्तु का यह आभास कर्तृव्य-भोक्तृत्वादि सम्पूर्ण अभिमानों का मूल है^{१५}। अज्ञानादि उपाधियों के नाश होने पर आभास का संहार उसी प्रकार हो जाता है जैसे घटोदकादि के नष्ट होने पर घटगत सूर्य का प्रविलयन होता है^{१६}। सुरेश्वराचार्य ने आभास के अर्थ में न केवल आभास, चिदाभास, चिद्विम्ब तथा कूटस्थाभास आदि अनेक अपरोक्ष पदों का ही प्रयोग किया है अपितु महिमा^{१७}, अभिप्राय^{१८}, प्रसाद^{१९}, आकृति^{२०} तथा वृत्ति^{२१} जैसी परोक्ष पदावलियों का भी अवष्टम्भ लिया है।

शङ्कर, सुरेश्वर, सर्वज्ञात्मा तथा आनन्दानुभव जैसे सुविश्रुत श्रुत्यन्तवेत्ताओं के ग्रन्थों की टीकाओं के माध्यम से विद्यारण्य के पूर्ववर्ती आनन्दगिरि ने १३वीं शताब्दी में^{२२} सुरेश्वर-प्रतिष्ठापित आभासवाद का व्यापक समर्थन किया। इन्होंने आभास को बहुधा लक्षित किया है। एक परिभाषा के अनुसार 'अहम्'-इत्याकारक अपरोक्षप्रतीति चैतन्याभास है^{२३}। इस लक्षण का निष्कृष्टार्थ यह है कि अज्ञानकार्यभूत उपाधियों में 'अहम्' 'मम' आदि अपरोक्षाप्रतीति आभास है। एक अन्य परिभाषा के अनुसार 'प्रत्यक्चैतन्य का अवमत भास आभास है'^{२४}। ब्रह्मसूत्र के अध्यास भाष्य के 'अवभास' पद की व्याख्या करते हुए भामतीकार वाचस्पति मिश्र ने भी अवसन्न अथवा अवमत भास को अवभास कहा है^{२५}। कल्पतरुकार अमलानन्दसरस्वती के अनुसार अवसाद का अर्थ है उच्छेद तथा अवमान का अर्थ है तिरस्कार^{२६}। इस प्रकार प्रत्यक्चैतन्य की वह अवभासता अर्थात् प्रतीति आभास है जिसका प्रत्ययान्तर से बाध संभव है और जो यौक्तिक तिरस्कार का विषय है। चिल्लभ्रणविरहित होने पर भी चिद्वदवभासमान पदार्थ को चिदाभास कहा जाता है^{२७}। उपाधिविशेषणतया गृह्यमाण आत्मचैतन्य की छाया रूप आभास^{२८} को न चैतन्यधर्मक कहा जा सकता है, न अज्ञानादि उपाधिधर्मक; न चैतन्य तथा उपाधि दोनों का धर्म माना जा सकता है और न कोई स्वतन्त्र पदार्थ कहा जा सकता है^{२९}। आभास की कार्य-कारणता दोनों दुर्वचनीय है तथा सत्, असत्, सदसत् या तदुभयभिन्न किसी भी रूप में इसका निरूपण संभव नहीं, इसलिए इसे मायामय अर्थात् मिथ्या कहा जाता है^{३०}। अचिन्त्यता तथा अनिर्वचनीयता इसके मिथ्यात्व की कसौटी है^{३१}।

विद्यारण्य ने भी पञ्चदशी^{३२}, अनुभूतिप्रकाश^{३३} तथा बृहदारण्यकवार्तिकसार^{३४} में आभासवाद का अङ्गीकार किया है। महामहोपाध्याय वासुदेव शास्त्री अभ्यङ्कर ने प्रतिबिम्ब की सत्यता मानने वालों को प्रतिबिम्बवादी तथा प्रतिबिम्ब की असत्यता स्वीकार करने वालों को आभासवादी मानकर भी^{३५} न जाने कैसे विद्वन्मुकुटहीरमणि

विद्यारण्य को प्रतिबिम्बवाद का पूर्णतः समर्थक बताया है^{३६}। वस्तुतः विद्यारण्य पञ्चदशी आदि ग्रन्थों में अन्य आभासवादी आचार्यों के समान ही आभास को मिथ्या, कल्पित, मायिक तथा भ्रम रूप स्वीकार करते हैं^{३७}।

आभास के उपर्युक्त विविध लक्षणों से यह स्पष्ट ज्ञात होता है कि आभास चैतन्य के सत्त्वादि लक्षणों से हीन होने पर भी सत्त्वादिरूपतया वैसे ही प्रतीत होता है जैसे मुख लक्षणहीन भी मुखाभास मुखधर्मवान् अवभासित होता है तथा यथा मुखाभास मिथ्या, अनिर्वचनीय, आपातरमणीय एवं दर्पणादिउपाधिहानसमकाल विनाश्य है उसी प्रकार आभास भी मिथ्या, अचिन्त्य, आपातरमणीय और अज्ञानादि उपाधिनाशसमकाल निवर्त्य है।

स्वरूपतः मिथ्या होते हुए भी लक्ष्य अर्थात् सन्मात्ररूप से आभासवाद में आभास के सत्यत्व की व्यवस्था की गयी है^{३८}।

आभास की द्विविधरूपता—

अज्ञान तथा अज्ञानज कार्यावभासित चिदाभास को वार्तिककार तथा उनके अनुयायियों ने—(१) कारणाभास तथा (२) कार्याभास—इन द्विविध रूपों में प्रतिपादित किया है^{३९}। संक्षेप में इनके स्वरूप तथा पारस्परिक सम्बन्धों की मीमांसा की जा रही है।

(१) कारणाभास—मोह या अज्ञानगत आभास कारणाभास है। कारणाभास चैतन्यमात्रोपादानक है, अतः इसे सुरेस्वराचार्य ने कूटस्थात्मैकहेतूत्थ^{४०} एवं प्रत्यक्षप्र-ज्ञोत्थित^{४१} कहा है। आत्मा के कारणत्वादि के प्रयोजक अज्ञान में नित्य संस्थित रहने के कारण^{४२} इस चिदाभास को कारणाभास की संज्ञा दी जाती है। स्वोपादान अर्थात् चैतन्यानुरोधी होने के कारण एक अन्य वार्तिक में इसे चेतनाभास पद से भी व्यपदिष्ट किया गया है और आत्मलक्षणास्पद माना गया है^{४३}। कारण चिदाभास को आत्म-लक्षणास्पद कहने का अभिप्राय एतावन्मात्र है कि चिदाभास के द्वारा अज्ञान तथा अज्ञानज पदार्थसार्थ की सत्ता एवं स्फूर्ति होती है, पर यह नहीं कि कारणाभास शुद्धबुद्धमुक्त स्वभाव ब्रह्मवत् शुद्ध, असङ्ग, उदासीन, अविकारी, अनन्त तथा षड्विधविकाररहित है। इसको कूटस्थात्मैकहेतूत्थ कहने से भी यह अभिप्रेत नहीं कि आत्मा के कारणत्वादि की प्रयोजिका अविद्या के अभाव में कारणाभास का उत्थान हो जाता है क्योंकि कभी-कभी वार्तिककार ने मोहोत्थ^{४४} कहकर इसके अज्ञानजन्यत्व को भी समर्थित किया है। आत्मलक्षणास्पद के समान आत्मैकहेतूत्थ से भी अभिप्रेत तथ्य यही है कि यह कारणाभास चित्सम विशेषणाव-गाही होता हुआ जड़ पदार्थों का प्रकाशनादि करना है।

कारणाभास की चिदज्ञानोभयजन्यता का स्पष्टीकरण—कारणाभास के लिए चित् तथा अज्ञान—दोनों की कारणता कहने से विरोध प्रतीत होता है; अतः इसका स्पष्टीकरण आवश्यक है। चिदाभास का अर्थ है चित्प्रतियोगिक आभास। अज्ञान में सदैव संस्थित रहने के कारण इसे अज्ञानानुयोगिक कहा जायगा। आभास अपने प्रतियोगी चित् तथा अनुयोगी अज्ञान इन दोनों से जन्य होने के कारण प्रतियोग्यनुयोग्युभयोपादानक होगा। कहने का अभिप्राय यह है कि प्रतियोगी रूप से कारणाभास का जनक चित् है तथा अनुयोगी रूप से कारणाभास का जनक अज्ञान है। प्रतियोगित्वेन कारणाभास की जनकता से ब्रह्म की निधर्मकता का कोई विरोध नहीं क्योंकि ब्रह्म अपने तुरीय रूप में तादृश प्रतियोगित्वोपलक्षित रहता है।

(२) कार्याभास—अज्ञानज वस्तुवात में प्रतिफलित आभास को कार्याभास कहा गया है। सुरेश्वराचार्य ने नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धि में कार्याभास को क्रिया-कारक एवं फलरूप बताया है^{४५}। इस कार्याभास का उत्पादन (कारण) अज्ञान है। कारणचिदाभास-विशिष्टाज्ञानोपादानक होने के कारण कार्य चिदाभास से आत्मवस्तु का किञ्चित् संपर्क संभव नहीं। कार्याभास को अविद्या का परिणाम भी कहा जाता है^{४६}। सूक्ष्मतामादि से स्थूलतमान्त समस्त जगत् कार्याभास प्रोद्भासित होने के कारण कार्याभास-व्यपदेश्य है। यद्यपि कार्याभास को अचेतनाभास—इस अपर पर्याय से अभिहित कर आचार्य सुरेश्वर ने अनात्मरूप कहा है^{४७}, तथापि अनात्मरूप कहने का अभिप्राय इसे आत्मा से व्यतिरिक्त बतलाना है, न कि जड़ पदार्थों से अविलक्षण मानना क्योंकि यह जड़पदार्थों का प्रोद्भासक है, उनके समान परप्रोद्भास्य नहीं। विश्वरूप होने के कारण कार्याभास की अनेकता सम्मत है^{४८}।

कारणाभास तथा कार्याभास का अन्तर एवं सम्बन्ध—उपर्युक्त आभासद्वय-सम्बन्धित स्वरूपानुशीलन से यह सुस्पष्ट हो जाता है कि कारण चिदाभास प्राथमिक तथा नान्तरीयक चिदाभास है और कार्य चिदाभास पश्चाद्भाविक एवं व्यवहित है। कारणाभास अज्ञानगत होता है तथा कार्याभास अज्ञानोत्थवस्तुगत होता है। एक का उपादान चैतन्य है, दूसरे का उपादान अज्ञान। एक चैतन्यस्वभावानुरोधी है तथा दूसरा मोहाद्युपाध्यनुरोधी, इसीलिए कारण चिदाभास को चेतनाभास तथा कार्य चिदाभास को अचेतनाभास कहा जाता है। एक आत्मरूप है तथा दूसरा अनात्मरूप। कारण चिदाभास की आत्मरूपता का तात्पर्य सत् और चित्स्वरूप आत्मा के अनुकारी होने के कारण अज्ञानादि पदार्थों में सत्ता-स्फूर्तिप्रदत्व है। कार्याभास की अनात्मरूपता का अभिप्राय अज्ञानस्वरूप होने के कारण संसार के पदार्थों में सुख-दुःख-मोहादिहेतुत्वापादकत्व है। आभास प्रस्थान की सूक्ष्म अन्वीक्षा से यह भी ज्ञात होता है कि कारणाभास क्रिया-कारक-फलात्मक कार्याभास की कारणता का एक सहायक तत्त्व है। कारण-कार्य चिदाभास रूप में आभासद्वैविध्य के वर्णन से यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि आभास के ये दो भेद हैं। वस्तुतः एक ही

चिदाभास जब अज्ञान में आभासित होता है तब उसे कारणाभास कहते हैं और जब अज्ञान के कार्यों में प्रतिफलित होता है तब उसे कार्याभास कहते हैं। अज्ञान तथा अज्ञान के कार्यों में सदैव व्याप्त इन दोनों आभासों को आनन्दगिरि ने असङ्ग परमात्मा की “मायामयी द्वयी वृत्ति” बताया है^{४६}।

आभास की उपयोगिता तथा अपेक्षा—आभास के प्रमुख उपयोग निम्नलिखित हैं—

(१) अनात्मवस्तु की सिद्धि आभास निबन्धन है:—आत्मव्यतिरिक्त समस्त अनात्म पदार्थों के स्वरूप की निष्पत्ति तथा सिद्धि आभास के द्वारा होती है। जगत् की कारणतादि की प्रयोजिका अविद्या से लेकर तत्कार्यभूत स्यावरान्त जगत्—इन सबके सत्तालाभ एवं स्फुरण का कारण आत्मज्योति या आभास है^{४७}। जिस प्रकार स्वतः जाड्य एवं मौढ्यविशिष्ट अविद्या^{४८} का वैश्वरूपात्मक प्रथन असंभव है उसी प्रकार तदुद्भूत भूतसमूहों का आत्मरूप से अवभासन भी असंभव है, क्योंकि जो वस्तु स्वतः सत्ता एवं स्फूर्ति से विरहित है, वह न तो प्रपञ्च-विकल्पना कर सकती है और न आत्मरूप प्रतीत हो सकती है। इसीलिए आभासवादियों ने अज्ञान^{४९} तथा अज्ञानसमुद्भूत भूतजात^{५०} की स्वरूपसिद्धि का हेतु चित्प्रसाद अर्थात् चिदाभास को बताया है। आभास व्याप्त वस्तु अर्थात् आभासी का आभास-व्यतिरिक्त कोई सत्त्व नहीं होता^{५१} इसीलिए चिदाभासाक्रान्त अज्ञान अथवा अज्ञानादित्रय (अज्ञान, संशयज्ञान तथा मिथ्याज्ञान) तथा अज्ञान-प्रोद्भूत कार्यज्ञान सभी को आभासवाद में आभास कहा गया है^{५२}।

(२) आभास कारणता का एक तत्त्व है:—अद्वैत वेदान्त के आभास प्रस्थान से ईशादि-विषयान्त जगत् की दुःखबोध कारणता की समस्या का समाधान प्राप्त हो जाता है। निष्प्रपञ्च, निर्विकार, निर्गुण, निरंश, निष्कल, सत्य, ज्ञान, अनन्त ब्रह्म जगत् का स्वतः कारण नहीं हो सकता। जड़ अविद्या भी स्वयमेव जगत् के कारणत्व की प्रयोजिका नहीं बन सकती। जड़ अविद्या का निष्क्रिय ब्रह्म कैसे अवष्टम्भ करे? यह अद्वैतनय के समक्ष एक जटिल प्रश्न था। आभासवादी सुरेश्वराचार्य आदि अद्वैत वेदान्त के ऐसे आचार्य हैं जिन्होंने अज्ञान तथा ब्रह्म के आविद्यक सम्बन्ध की सिद्धि के लिए आभास रूप वर्त्म^{५३} की कल्पना की। इस आभास-वर्त्म के द्वारा चित् का अज्ञान से सम्बन्ध हो सका तथा चिदाभास व्याप्त अज्ञान के समुपाश्रयण से ब्रह्म को जगत् का परम कारण माना जा सका^{५४}।

(३) आभास की सहायता से आत्मा का विषय-प्रकाशन—दृश्यमान् बुद्ध्यादि स्यावरान्त जगत् क्यों प्रकाशित हो रहा है, जबकि इसका प्रकाशन न तो सर्वप्रवृत्तिहीन, कार्यकारणातीत ब्रह्म कर सकता है और न तिमिर तथा मोहादिक पदाभिलप्यमान अविद्या कर सकती है। इस जटिल समस्या को भी आभासवादियों ने आभास के अङ्गीकरण से समाहित किया है। उनका स्पष्ट कथन है कि आत्मा स्वाभाससाचिव्य से बुद्ध्यादि विषयों का प्रकाशन करता है^{५५}।

आभास के अन्य अनेक उपयोग आभास प्रस्थान में स्वीकृत है,^{५६} पर लेखविस्तार के भय से उनका विवेचन आवश्यक नहीं समझता ।

प्रतिबिम्ब तथा आभासः—

“प्रतिबिम्बत्वं तु—उपाध्यन्तर्गतप्रतीयमानत्वे सति औपाधिकपरिच्छेदशून्यत्वे च बहिः-स्थितस्वरूपत्वम् । उपाध्यन्तर्गतत्वे सति उपाध्यन्तर्गतस्वरूपाभिन्नत्वं बिम्बत्वम्^{६०} ।” तथा “चिद्वदवभासमानत्वे सति चिल्लक्षणरहितत्वाच्चिदाभास इति च व्यपदिश्यते^{६१} ।” इन बिम्ब-प्रतिबिम्ब तथा आभास के लक्षणों के आधार पर प्रतिबिम्ब तथा आभास के निम्न-लिखित प्रमुख अन्तर किए जा सकते हैं—

(१) प्रतिबिम्ब बिम्ब ही है, वस्त्वन्तर नहीं, पर आभास मिथ्या है । स्पष्ट शब्दों में प्रतिबिम्ब बिम्बैकस्वरूपलक्षण और बिम्बाभिन्न होने से सत्य है^{६२} किन्तु आभास उपाधिवत् अनिवर्चनीय होने के कारण मूषा है^{६३} ।

(२) पारमार्थिक बिम्बैकरूप प्रतिबिम्ब सर्वथा सत्य है,^{६४} पर आभास स्वरूपतः मिथ्या तथा लक्ष्यत्वेन सत्य है ।^{६५} अतः प्रतिबिम्ब में उपाधि का बाध तथा प्रतिबिम्ब का “अभेद में सामानाधिकरण्य” होता है^{६६} इसके विपरीत आभास पक्ष में आभास तथा उपाधि दोनों का बाध होता है^{६७} । कहने की अभिसन्धि यह है कि “तत्त्वमसि” आदि महावाक्यों के अखण्डार्थबोध के लिए प्रतिबिम्ब पक्ष में ‘जहदजहल्लक्षणा’ तथा ‘अभेदे सामानाधिकरण्यम्’ और आभास पक्ष में ‘जहल्लक्षणा’ एवं ‘बाधायां सामानाधिकरण्यम्’ मान्य हैं ।

(३) यद्यपि आभास और प्रतिबिम्ब दोनों चैतन्यमूलक है, तथापि आभास की चैतन्यमूलकता केवल इतने में है कि वह (आभास) चिद् की अधिष्ठानता के बल से प्रतीत होता है न कि चैतन्य का स्वरूपावगाही होता है किन्तु प्रतिबिम्ब बिम्बमूलक होने के साथ ही स्वरूपतः बिम्बैकस्वरूपलक्षण भी है ।

(४) चिल्लक्षणविरहित होने के कारण आभास किञ्चिन्मात्र वस्तुसंस्पर्श नहीं, पर बिम्बलक्षणानुगत प्रतिबिम्ब वस्तुतः बिम्बसंस्पर्श है, यद्यपि वास्तविक स्वरूपाग्रहण के कारण उसे बिम्ब से भिन्न समझ लिया जाता है ।

(५) आभास और उपाधि दोनों को एकरूप अथवा उपाधि का आभासान्यत्र सत्त्व न मानने के कारण आभासवादियों ने अज्ञानादि उपाधि को आभास कहा है, किन्तु प्रतिबिम्ब को बिम्बभिन्न तथा औपाधिकपरिच्छेदशून्य मानने वाले प्रतिबिम्बवादी अज्ञानादि को कभी प्रतिबिम्ब नहीं कहते ।

प्रतिबिम्ब तथा आभास के इन्हीं मौलिक अन्तरों की आधारपीठिका पर आवृत अद्वैत वेदान्त के प्रतिबिम्ब तथा आभास प्रस्थानों के जीव-ईश्वर तथा जगत् के स्वरूप में पारस्परिक विभेद आ जाता है ।

१. “पर एवात्मा देहेन्द्रियमनोबुद्ध्युपाधिभिः परिच्छिद्यमानो बालैः शारीर इत्युपचर्यते । यथा घटकरकाद्युपाधिवशादपरिच्छिन्नमपि नभः परिच्छिन्नवदवभासते तद्वत् ।” ब्रह्मसूत्रशाङ्करभाष्य—१।२।६; वही १।१।१६, १।२।२०, तथा १।३।१४ आदि ।
२. “सर्वदेशकालपुरुषाद्यवस्थमेकमेव ज्ञानं नामरूपाद्यनेकोपाधिभेदात् सवित्रादिजलादिवदनेकधावभासते ।” (कठ उप० शाङ्करभाष्य—६।२ पृ० ६१) आनन्दाश्रम; ऐतरेय उप० भा०—३।१; बृह० उप० शा० भा० पृ० ४५८; कठ उप० शा० भा० २।३।५ तथा प्रबोधसुधाकर : अद्वैतप्रकरणम् श्लोक १२४ आदि ।
३. छा० उप० शा० भा० ८।४।१; तैत्तिरीय उप० शा० भा० २।१; मुण्ड० उप० शा० भा० ३।२।६; श्वेता० उप० शा० भा० १।६; बृह० उप० शा० भा० १।३।१; ब्रह्मसू० शा० भा० १।३।१३; २।१।१४, १।२।६; माण्डू० उप० शा० भा० १।१; विज्ञाननौका—श्लोक ५ तथा सर्ववेदान्तसिद्धान्तसारसंग्रह—श्लोक ६६२-६३ आदि ।
४. मु० उप० शा० भा० ४।६; प्रश्न उप० शा० भा० ४।६; सर्ववेदान्तसिद्धान्तसारसंग्रह, श्लोक ८०४; छा० उप० शा० भा० ६।८।१; वृ० उप० शा० भा० २।४।१४; तथा विवेकचूडामणि, श्लोक ५०६ आदि ।
५. ब्रह्मसूत्र शा० भा० २।३।५०; वृ० उप० शा० भा० ५।३।३०; छा० उप० शा० भा० ६।३।२; उपदेशसाहस्री, पद्य खण्ड, १८।३३, १८।११४, १८।८८, आदि ।
६. “अनाभासं न केनचित्कल्पितेन विषयेनावभासते” (मा० उ० शा० भा० ३।४)
७. नात्माभासत्वसिद्धिश्चेदात्मनो ग्रहणात् पृथक् ।
मुखादेश्च पृथक्सिद्धिरिह त्वन्योन्यसंश्रयः ॥
(उपदेशसाहस्री, पद्यप्रकरणम् १८।११५, तुलनीय वही १८।३३)
८. “मुकुरस्थं मुखं यद्वन्मुखवत्प्रथते मृषा ।
बुद्धिस्थाभासकस्तद्वदवदात्मवत्प्रथते मृषा ॥” (अद्वैतानुभूति, श्लोक ६३)
९. “मुखाभासो यथादर्शो, आभासश्चोदितो मृषा । (उपदेशसाहस्री, १८।८८ तथा १८।११४)
१०. स्वात्मप्रकाशिका—श्लोक ३७ तथा उप० सा० १८।४४

११. विवेकचूडामणि—श्लोक १६५; २२०-२२ तथा उप० सा० १८।१०८ ।
१२. उप० सा०, १२।६ ।
१३. “तदन्यद्यत्तदाभासम्.....” वृ० उ० भा० वा० २।३।१६१
१४. अविचारितसंसिद्धतमोक्तस्यात्तदुद्भवम् ॥” वही २।१।४
१५. वही ४।३।७३ ।
१६. “बुद्ध्यादिकार्यसंहारे प्रत्यक्चैतन्यरूपिणः ।
चिद्विम्बस्यापि संहारो जलार्कप्रविलापवत् ॥” (वही ४।३।११७४)
१७. वही २।३।२३३; ३।५।७०, १३६ तथा ३।८।११५ ।
१८. वही १।३।३१२ ।
१९. वही ४।३।७४ तथा २६५ ।
२०. वही ४।३।२२६ तथा ४।४।६५१ ।
२१. वही १।४।६३६ आदि ।
२२. “Vidyāranya’s Vivaraṇa—prameya—Saṅgraha—evidently seems to be written after the Vivaraṇa—tattva—dīpana of Ānandagiri’s pupil.....In other respect too, the Vivaraṇa—prameya—Saṅgraha seems to have drawn from Tattvadīpana. This circumstance also strengthens the conclusion that “Ānandagiri flourished before Vidyāranya (A. D. 1331—1387) (T. M. Tripathi. Introduction on Pañca—Prakriyā)
२३. “आभिमुख्येनाहमित्यापरोक्ष्येण भासत इत्याभासः ।” (छान्दोग्यभाष्यटीका ६।३।२)
२४. “प्रत्यक्चित्तोऽवमतो भासो नामाभासः ॥” (वृ० उ० भा० वा० टीका २।१।२१६)
२५. “अवसन्नोऽवमतो वा भासोऽवभासः ।” (भामती पृ० ११)
२६. कल्पतरुः, पृ० १८ ।
२७. “चिद्वदवभासमानत्वे सति चित्तलक्षणरहितत्वाच्चिदाभास इति च व्यपदिश्यते ।” (वेदान्तसंज्ञाप्रकरणम्, पृष्ठ २५) तुलनीय, शङ्करानन्द : षट्पदीस्तवव्याख्या, पृ० २८, [डायमण्ड जुबिली कमेमोरेषन वालूम, भाग-१]

शाङ्कराद्वैतसम्मत आभासवाद

३७

२८. आनन्दगिरि—वाक्यमुधाव्याख्या, श्लोक—६ ।
२९. वही श्लोक—३६—“आभासश्च न विम्वधर्मो नाज्युपाधिधर्मो नापि स्वतन्त्र इत्यत्र प्रतिपादितम् ।”
३०. “आभासानां विज्ञानस्य च कार्यकारणतया दुर्वचनत्वादाभासाः सर्वदैव निरूपयितुमशक्यत्वान्मायामया सन्तो मिथ्यैव भवन्तीत्यर्थः । (आनन्दगिरि—माण्डूक्यगौडपादीय-भाष्यव्याख्या ४।५१-५२)
३१. वही—“यतः सदैवाचिन्त्या अतो मृषैवेति शेषः ।” तुलनीय “आभासस्तु मृषाबुद्धि-रविद्याकार्यमुच्यते ।” (अध्यात्मरामायण)
३२. विद्यारण्य—पञ्चदशी—“ईषद्भासनमाभासः प्रतिविम्वस्तथाविधः ।
विम्वलक्षणहीनः सन् विम्ववद्भासते स हि ।” (८।३२)
“आभासत्वस्य मिथ्यात्वात्—” (७।१५)
“मायिकोज्यं चिदाभासः श्रुतेरनुभवादपि” (७।२१७)
तथा “दधद्विभाति पुरत आभासोऽतो भ्रमो भवेत् (८।५२) आदि
३३. विद्यारण्य—बृहदारण्यकवार्तिकसार—वार्तिक ३७३ पृ० १२४ आदि ।
३४. विद्यारण्य—अनुभूतिप्रकाश—१।३८ और ७।३६ आदि ।
३५. सिद्धान्तविन्दुव्याख्या, पृ० २५
३६. वही, उपोद्धात, अनुच्छेद २५ - “विद्वन्मुकुटहीरमणयो विद्यारण्या अपि पूर्णत्वे-नाङ्गीकारं चक्रुः अस्य प्रतिविम्ववादस्य ।
३७. अप्पयदीक्षित—सिद्धान्तलेशसंग्रह, द्वितीय परिच्छेद—“अद्वैतविद्याकृतस्तु प्रतिविम्वस्य मिथ्यात्वमभ्युपगच्छतां त्रिविधजीववादिनां विद्याख्यगुरुभृतीनामभिप्रायमेवमाहुः ।”
Cp. Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan. The Philosophy of Advaita with special reference to Bhāratīrtha Vidyāranya, ch. VII, p. 225.
३८. आनन्दगिरि—छान्दोग्यभाष्यटीका—“मिथ्यात्वेऽपि तल्लक्ष्यस्य सन्मात्रस्य सत्यत्वमिति व्यवस्थेत्यर्थः ।”
३९. “आत्माभासोऽपि योज्ञाने तत्कार्यं चावभासते ।”
कार्यकारणतारूपः..... वृ० उ० भा० वा० ४।३।१३२०
४०. “कूटस्थात्मैकहेतूत्यो चिद्विम्बो मोहगस्तु यः ॥” वही ४।३।४१५

४१. "प्रत्यक्प्रज्ञोत्थिताभास " वही, २।४।३६०,
४२. आत्माज्ञानमतः प्रत्यक्चैतन्याभासवत् सदा ।
आत्मनः कारणत्वादेः प्रयोजकमिहेष्यते ॥ वही ४।३।३५५, और भी ४।३।६६ तथा १।४।८३४।
४३. "चेतनाचेतनाभास आत्मानात्मत्वलक्षणः ।" वही २।४।४२४
४४. "न तु मोहोत्थचिद्विम्बहेतुवृत्तव्यपेक्षया ।" वही ४।३।४१५
४५. "यश्चायं क्रियाकारकफलात्मक आभास ईषदपि परमार्थवस्तु न स्पृशति तस्य मोह-
मात्रोपादानत्वात् ।" (नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धि, अ०२, पृ०६७)
४६. "परिणामो हि मोहादेश्चिदाभासः सदेष्यते ।" (वृ० उ० भा० वा० ४।३।३६४)
४७. वही २।४।४२४।
४८. वही १।२।१५७; १।४।१३२८; २।४।४२५ तथा ३।४।१०५
४९. "कृत्स्नस्य द्वैतस्य मूलकारणमज्ञानं तस्य कार्यं वियदादि तत्रोभयत्र वृत्तिराभासस्त-
द्रूपोपाध्यवष्टम्भादसङ्गस्यापि मायामयी द्वयी वृत्तिः ।" (शास्त्रप्रकाशिका
१।४।६३६ पृ० ५६१)
५०. "ध्वान्तादि विषयान्तोऽर्थो जडत्वान्नात्मसिद्धिकृत् ।
आत्मज्योतिरभावेऽतो नाभावमपि विन्दति ॥" (वृ० उ० भा० वा०, ४।३।५६)
५१. "न च जाड्यातिरेकेण ह्यविद्या काचिदिष्यते ।" (वही १।४।२५६)
५२. सुरेश्वराचार्यः बृहदारण्यक—वार्तिक "यत्प्रसादादविद्यादि सिध्यतीव दिवानिशम् ।"
(४।३।७४); "चिदाभासैकमात्रेण तमः सिद्धिर्न मातृतः" (३।४।१०५) आनन्दगिरि-
शास्त्रप्रकाशिका (वृ० उ० भा० वा० टीका)—"चैतन्यतदाभासाभ्यामज्ञानसिद्धिमुक्त्वा
मातृसिद्धिप्रकारमाह—संविदिति" (३।४।१०५); "आभासवशात्तमः सिद्धि-
रित्यत्रानुभवं प्रमाणयति—नेति ।" (१।४।३४) तथा ४।३।२६६ आदि ।
५३. वृ० उ० भा० वा०—४।३।३५६; १।४।२३, तथा आनन्दगिरि—शास्त्रप्रकाशिका—
"आत्माज्ञानोद्भूतादि जाड्यान् स्वतः सिध्यतश्चिदाभासेनैकेनैव तत्सिद्धैस्तदा-
त्मन्यध्यस्तमात्मेत्युच्यते कल्पितस्याधिष्ठानमन्तरेण सत्तास्फूर्त्योरभावात् ।"
(१।४।२३)

५४. “न चाऽऽभासस्याभासिनोऽन्यत्र सत्त्वम् ।” (वृ०उ०भा०वा० टीका १।४।५०८)
५५. वृ०उ०भा०वा०—“चिदाभासं तमोज्ञेयं नाज्ञासिपमितीक्षणात् ।” (१।४।३४१); “अज्ञानादित्रयं प्रत्यगाभासं यद्यपीष्यते ।” (३।३।४१) तथा—४।३।३६२; वृ०उ०भा०वा० टीका—“प्रत्यगाभासं यदखण्डं तमः” (१।४।५०१) तथा “जगदपि सनिदानं आभासभागभवतीत्यर्थः” (१।४।१४०५) आदि
५६. वृ०उ०भा०वा०—१।२।१२७, ३।४।६०, ३।५।१२८, ४।३।३५२, ३८४, ३६८, १००४ तथा १३७७; वृ०उ०भा०वा० टीका—“चित्प्रतिबिम्बद्वारैवाऽऽत्मा सदाऽविद्यादिना युज्यते न स्वतोऽसङ्गत्वश्रुतेरित्यर्थः ।” (४।३।१३७७) आदि ।
५७. वृ०उ०भा०वा०—१।४।३७१ तथा २।१।३६५; वृ०उ०भा०वा० टीका—“अज्ञान-स्याभासद्वारा कूटस्थैक्ये तस्य कारणत्वमिष्टं स्वतस्तदयोगादित्यर्थः” (४।३।३८५)
५८. वृ०उ०भा०वा०—४।३।१८६, ४।३।८६ तथा ४।३।३६१ ।
५९. विस्तार के लिए द्रष्टव्य—लेखक का शोध प्रबन्ध—आभासवाद के विभिन्न प्रस्थानों का विशद एवं समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन (अप्रकाशित) पृ० ५१—५२, ६६—७१ तथा २३२—२३५ ।
६०. सदानन्द—अद्वैतब्रह्मसिद्धिः, चतुर्थो मुद्गरप्रहारः, पृ० २०२ ।
६१. वेदान्तसञ्ज्ञाप्रकरणम्—पृ० २५ (डायमण्ड जुविली कमेमोरेशन वालूम—भाग-१)
६२. पद्मपादाचार्य—पञ्चपादिका, प्रथम वर्णक, पृ० १०४।
६३. आनन्दगिरि—माण्डूक्यगौडपादीयभाष्यव्याख्या, ४।५२ पृ० १६२ तथा वाक्यमुधा-व्याख्या, श्लोक २६ ।
६४. पद्मपादाचार्य—पञ्चपादिका, प्रथम वर्णक, पृ० १०८।
६५. आनन्दगिरि—छान्दोग्यभाष्यव्याख्या ६।४।३ पृ० २६८; शास्त्रप्रकाशिका १।४।३८३, पृ० ५०८ तथा केनवाक्यविवरणव्याख्या ३।१।४।१ पृ० ३१ आदि ।
६६. प्रवेशपरिशोधिनी—आत्मस्वरूपकृतपञ्चपादिकाव्याख्या पृ० १०८ ।
६७. आनन्दगिरि—न्यायनिर्णय १।१।४ पृ० ८५, मुण्डकोपनिषद्भाष्यव्याख्यानम् ३।१।११ पृ० ३४ तथा ऐतरेयोपनिषद्भाष्यटीका १।१, पृ० २७ आदि ।

A NOTE ON THE SANSKRIT WORD *NI-TYA*

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In a previous note on the Sanskrit word *nitya*, which appeared in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 79 (1959), I discussed its etymology and applied the meaning thus acquired through an etymological analysis to several Vedic passages in which the word occurs. The original meaning of the word is *found inside of* (*innen befindlich*) and developed in the Vedic language to mean *one's own, dear*, which is comparable to the meaning of the words, *svīya, sahaja* and *priya*.¹ In classical Sanskrit the meaning further developed to *constant, eternal*, but when it stands as the last member of compounds it seems to retain a shade of the original meaning. Thus, in such position the word means *constantly associated with, fond of* as in the case of *strī-nitya-*, *aranya-nitya-*, etc. Professor J. Brough interprets rightly a passage of Nirukta *indriya-nityam (vacanam)* as meaning "(constantly) located in the *indriya*."²

In the course of a rapid reading of the Mahābhārata (Poona Critical Edition) I have recorded Epic passages in which the word appears as the last member of compounds. It might be a task of Sanskrit Philology to collect those passages, to arrange them systematically and to ascertain the nature of words which are construed with the word *nitya* in such position. Below, I shall present the result of my studies of the Epic and discuss some problems which come up from the investigation of the list.

dharma :

rājoparicaro nāma dharma-nityo mahīpatih (1.57. 1 ab)
 śamtanor dharma-nityasya kauravyasya yaśasvinah (1.97.3 ab)
 triṣu lokeṣu na tv āsīt kaś cid vidura-sammitah
 dharma-nityas tato rājan dharme ca paramam gatah (1.102.20)
 caratā dharma-nityena vana-vāsam yaśasvinā
 eṣa paitāmaho vaṁśah pāṇḍunā punar uddhṛtah (1.117.25)
 dharma-nityah sadā pāṇḍur mamāsīt priya-kṛddhitah (1.130.2 ab)
 sarvathā dharma-nityam tu puruṣam dharma-durbalam
 jahatas tāta dharmārthau pretam duhkha-sukhe yathā (3.34.22)
 ekāhnā pṛthivī tena dharma-nityena dhīmatā

nirjita śāsanād eva saratnākara-pattanā (3.126.36)
 śaktyānna-dānam satatam titikṣā dharma-nityatā
 yathārham pratipūjā ca sarva-bhuteṣu vai dayā
 tyāgān nānyatra martyānām guṇās tiṣṭhanti pūruṣe (3.198.39)
 ya evaṁ dharma-nityas ca jāta-jñānas ca pāṇḍavaḥ (4.67.10 cd)
 ātma-jñānam anāyāsas titikṣā dharma-nityatā
 vāk caiva guptā dānam ca naitāny antyeṣu bhārata (5.34.70)
 evaṁ-vidho dharma-nityo bhagavān munibhiḥ saha (5.68.14 cd)
 dharma-nityaḥ praśāntātmā kārya-yoga-vahaḥ sadā
 nādharme kurute buddhiṁ na ca pāpeṣu vartate (5.70.37)
 dharma-nityasya ca tadā gata-doṣasya dhīmataḥ (5.87.25 cd)
 sa vīraḥ satyavān prājño dharma-nityaḥ sudāruṇaḥ (7.13.8 ab)
 guru-vṛtti-ratāḥ prājñā dharma-nityā yaśasvinaḥ (7.133.35 cd)
 tasya buddhir iyaṁ hy āsīd dharma nityasya bhārata (9.41.10 ef)
 dharma-nityaḥ śucir dānto nyasta-daṇḍo mahātapāḥ
 karmaṇā manasā vācā samaḥ sarveṣu jantuṣu (9.49.2)
 nānyonyena vivādo bhūt striṇām api kuto nṛṇām
 dharma-nityāḥ prajāś cāsan rāme rājyaṁ praśāsati (12.29.51)
 tapasā brahma-caryeṇa satyena ca damena ca
 yukto' pi dharma-nityas ca na svarga-vāsam āpsyasi (12.30.26)
 tāṁś tādṛśān ahaṁ hatvā dharma-nityān mahikṣitaḥ
 asakṛt somapān vīrān kiṁ prāpsyāmi tapodhana (12.33.4)
 kṛta-jñān prājñam akṣudraṁ dṛḍha-bhaktim jitendriyam
 dharma-nityaṁ sthitam sthityāṁ mantriṇām pūjayen nṛpaḥ (12.68.56)
 gopāyitāraṁ dātāraṁ dharma-nityam atandritam
 akāma-dveṣa-saṁyuktam anurajyanti mānavāḥ (12.72.12)
 sa rājā dharma-nityaḥ san saha patnyā mahātapāḥ (12.122.2 ab)
 tathā śvetasya rājarṣer bālo diṣṭāntam āgataḥ
 śvo bhūte dharma-nityena mṛtaḥ saṁjivitaḥ punaḥ (12.149.63)
 dharma-nitye mahābuddhau brahmaṇye satya-vādini
 praśrite dāna-śīle ca sādaiva nivasāmy aham (12.221.25)
 tasmād etair adhikṣiptaḥ sahen nityam asaṁjvaraḥ
 gr̥ha-dharma-rato vidvān dharma-nityo jita-klamaḥ (12.235.19)
 karmabhis te nirānandā dharma-nityā jitendriyāḥ
 gatāḥ pratyakṣa-dharmāṇas te sarve vanam āśritāḥ
 anakṣatrā anādhṛsyā dṛśyante jyotiṣāṁ gaṇāḥ (12.236.21)
 tato vāsaṁ parikṣeta dharma-nityeṣu sādhuṣu
 manuṣyeṣu vadānyeṣu svadharma-nirateṣu ca (12.276.35)
 śrotriyaś tv agra-bhoktāro dharma-nityāḥ sanātanāḥ
 yājanādhyāpane yuktā yatra tad rāṣṭram āvaset (12.276.49)

A NOTE ON THE SANSKRIT WORD *NI-TYA*

43

yatra rājā dharma-nityo rājyaṁ vai paryupāsītā
 apāsyā kāmān kāmēśo vaset tatrāvicārayan (12.276.55)
 saumyaḥ somānvaye vede gatādhvā chinna-saṁśayaḥ
 dharma-nityo jita-krodho' nitya-ṛpto jitendriyaḥ (12.341.2)
 sāhaṁ dharmāṁ vijānantī dharma-nitye tvayī sthite
 sat-pathaṁ katham utsṛjya yāsyāmi viṣame pathi (12.347.11)
 tataḥ kṛṣṇo, bravīd vākyāṁ punarmatimatām varaḥ
 yudhiṣṭhiraṁ dharma-nityaṁ puruhūtam iveśvaraḥ (13.18.46)
 dugdhaṁ tv abhijite yoge dattvā madhu-ghṛtāplutam
 dharma-nityo manīṣibhyaḥ svarga-loke mahīyate (13.63.27)
 ṛṣayo dharma-nityās tu kṛtvā nivapanāny uta
 tarpaṇaṁ cāpy akurvanta tīrthāmbhobhir yata-vratāḥ (13.92.2)
 brahmaṇyaḥ satya-vādī ca śuciḥ śama-damānvitah
 prajāś taṁ cānvarajyanta dharma-nityaṁ manasvinam (14.4.11)
 na cainaṁ parihartuṁ te śaknuvan parisamkṣaye
 samyag-vṛtto hi rājā sa dharma-nityo yudhiṣṭhira (14.4.14)

Tapas :

tasyāṁ mṛgyāṁ samabhavat tasya putro mahā-nṛpaḥ
 ṛśyaśṛṅgas tapo-nityo vana eva vyavardhata (3.110.16)
 sā tatra gatvā kuśalā tapo-nityasya saṁnidhau
 āśramaṁ taṁ samāsādyā dadarśa taṁ ṛṣeḥ sutam (3.111.6)
 tapo-nityasya vṛddhasya roṣaṇasya viśeṣataḥ
 kenāpakṛtam adyeḥa bhārgavasya mahātmanaḥ
 jñātaṁ vā yadi vājñātaṁ tad ṛtaṁ brūta māciram (3.122.15)
 tapo-nityena dāntena muninā saṁyatātmanā
 ajitaṁ jetu-kāmena bhāvyāṁ saṅgesv asaṅginā (3.203.48)
 chadmanā nirjitās te hi karśitās ca mahāvane
 tapo-nityās ca rādheya samarthās ca mahārathāḥ (3.228.8)
 evaṁ gate kiṁ nu bhadre śakyaṁ kartuṁ tapasvibhiḥ
 āśrama-sthair mahābhāgaḥ tapo-nityair mahātmabhiḥ (5.173.13)
 samāsādyā tu taṁ śailaṁ śailāgre samavasthitam
 tapo-nityaṁ mahātmānam apaśyad vṛṣabha-dhvajaṁ (7.57.34)
 ruṣaṅgur brāhmaṇo vṛddhas tapo-nityāś ca bhārata
 deha-nyāse kṛta-manā vicintya bahudhā bahu (6.38.24)
 tathā ca kauśikas tāta tapo-nityo jitendriyaḥ
 tapasā vai sutaptaṇa brāhmaṇatvam avāptavān (9.39.11)
 te kṛtvā cāśramaṁ tatra nyavasanta tapasvinaḥ
 arundhaty api kalyāṇī tapo-nityābhavat tadā (9.47.31)
 śukraṁ viśva-sṛjaṁ brahma brahma-cāriṇam eva ca

vratavantam tapo-nityam anantam tapatam gatim (10.7.7)
 yadi guhyam tapo-nitya na vo bruteha maciram
 na hi guhyam atah srotum icchami dvija-pungavah (12.125.32)
 etat karaṇa-sāmagryam srotum icchami tattvataḥ
 bhavanto hi tapo-nitya brūyur etat samāhitah (12.125.34)
 anadhyāyeṣu ye viprah svādhyāyam naiva kurvate
 tapo-nityah sutapaso durgāṇy atitaranti te (12.111.11)
 tapo-nityena dāntena muninā samyatātmanā
 ajitam jetu-kāmena bhāvyaṁ saṅgeṣv asaṅginā (12.182.14)
 tapo-nityena dāntena muninā samyatātmanā
 ajitam jetu-kāmena bhāvyaṁ saṅgeṣv asaṅginā (12.316.22)
 āṇśamsya-parair bhāvyaṁ sadaiva niyatātmabhiḥ
 brahmaṇyair dharma-śilais ca tapo-nityais ca bhārata (12.153.48)
 tapo-nityam dharma-vidam variṣṭham
 samvartam tam jñāpayāmāsa kāryam (14.10.8 cd)

Dāna :

satyam damas tapo yogam ahimsā dāna-nityatā
 sādhakāni sadā puṁsām na jātir na kulam nṛpa (3.178.43)
 sarva-pūjyāḥ śruta-dhanās tathaiva ca tapasvinah
 dāna-nityāḥ sukhāṁ lokān āpnuvantīha ca śriyam (3.198.84)
 tatas tālaketur mahādharma-setur mahātmā kṛtātmāmahādāna-nityah
 vasiṣṭhāpavāham mahābhīma-vegam dhṛtātmā jitātmā samabhyājagāma
 (9.40.35)
 abhakṣayan vṛthā-māmsam amāmsāśi bhavaty uta
 dāna-nityah pavitraś ca asvapnaś ca divāsvapan (12.214.11)

vana :

anapatyas tu rājarsih sa mahātmā dṛḍha-vrataḥ
 mantriṣv ādhāya tad rājyaṁ vana-nityo babhūva ha (3.126.7)
 sṛñjayo' pi sutam prāpya deva-rāja-samadyutim
 hrṣṭaḥ sāntahpuro rājā vana-nityo' bhavat tadā (12.31.30)
 vana-nityair vana-carair vana-pair vana-gocaraiḥ
 vanam gurum ivāsādyā vastavyam vana-jīviḥ (13.130.13)
 tyakta-dehaḥ sadā dakṣo vana-nityah samāhitah
 evam yukto jayet svargam vāna-prastho jitendriyah (14.46.16)

Satya :

satya-nityah kṣamā-nityo jñāna-nityo' tithi-prīyah
 yo dadāti satam nityam sa mām pṛcchatu pāṇḍavaḥ (12.55.9)

A NOTE ON THE SANSKRIT WORD *NI-TYA*

45

akrodhanā dharma-parāḥ satya-nityā dame ratāḥ
 tādṛśāḥ sādhaso viprās tebhyo dattaṁ mahāphalam (13.23.33)
 devi dharmārtha-tattvajñe satya-nitye dame rate
 sarva-prāṇi-hitāḥ praśnaḥ śrūyatām buddhi-varḍhanaḥ (13.132.4)

Svādhyāya :

yo brahma jñāti yathā-pradeśaṁ svādhāya-nityaḥ śucir apramattaḥ
 sa vai puro deva-purasya gantā sahāmaraiḥ prāpnuyāt prīti-yogam (3.184.5)
 satyaṁ damaṁ hy ārjavam ānṛśaṁsyam vṛttiṁ titikṣāṁ abhisevamānaḥ
 svādhyāya-nityo' spṛḥayan pareṣāṁ ekānta-śīly ūrdhva-gatir bhavet saḥ
 (12.288.29)
 svādhyāya-nityeṣu dvijeṣu nityaṁ kṣatre ca dharmābhirate sadaiva
 vaiśye ca kṛṣyābhirate vasāmi śūdre ca śuśrūṣaṇa-nitya-yukte (13.11.18)

Jñāna :

satya-nityaḥ kṣamā-nityo jñāna-nityo' tithi-priyaḥ
 yo dadāti satāṁ nityaṁ sa mām prcchatu pāṇḍavaḥ (12.55.9)
 bhāryāṁ gacchan brahmacārī ṛtau bhavati brāhmaṇaḥ
 ṛta-vādī sadā ca syāj jñāna-nityaś ca yo naraḥ (12.214.10)

Adhyātma-jñāna

adhyātma-jñāna-nityatvaṁ tattva-jñānārtha-darśanam
 etaj jñānam iti proktam ajñānam yad ato' nyathā (6.35.11)
 adhyātma-jñāna-nityaṁ munīnāṁ bhāvitātmanāṁ
 svādhyāya-kratu-siddhānāṁ eṣa lokaḥ sanātanaḥ (14.41.4)

Śāstra :

prajñālābhe hi puruṣaḥ śāstrāṇy evānvavekṣate
 śāstra-nityaḥ punar dharmāṁ tasya hrīr āṅgam uttamam (5.79.35)
 śāstra-nityā jita-krodhā balavanto raṇa-priyāḥ
 kṣāntāḥ śīla-guṇopetāḥ saṁdheyāḥ puruṣottamāḥ (12.162.25)

Śāstra :

tvam ca śūraḥ sadāmarṣī śāstra-nityaś ca bhārata
 nānyatra śāstrāt tasmāt te nidhanaṁ vidyate' nāgha (1.94.62)
 kṣatra-dharmo mahāraudraḥ śāstra-nitya iti smṛtaḥ
 vadhaś ca bharata-śreṣṭha kāle śāstreṇa saṁyuge (12.22.5)

Adhyātman :

nirmāna-mohā jita-saṅga-doṣā adhyātma-nityā vinivṛtta-kāmāḥ
 dvaṁdvair vimuktāḥ sukha-duḥkha-saṁjñair gacchanty amūḍhāḥ padam-
 avyayaṁ tat (6.37.5)

samyag anvīkṣatām buddhyā śāntayādhyātma-nityayā
dhyānābhyāsābhirāmāṇām yo mṛtatvāya kalpate (12.515.50)

Dhyāna :

tulya-nindā-stutir bhūtvā sama-loṣṭāśma-kāñcanaḥ
jñāna-yogena śuddhena dhyāna-nityo babhūva ha (3.247.42)
vāyav-āhārair ambupair japyā-nityaiḥ saṁprakṣālair yatibhir dhyāna-nityaiḥ
dhūmāśanair ūṣmapaiḥ kṣīrapais ca vibhūṣitam brāhmaṇendraiḥ samantāt
(13.14.38)

Adhyayana :

ijyādhyana-nityaiś ca dharme ca nirataḥ sadā
śāntaḥ śruta-rahasyaś ca sa mām prcchatu pāṇḍavaḥ (12.55.10)
vedādhyayana-nityatvaṁ kṣamāthācārya-pūjanam
tathopādhyāya-śuśrūṣā brahmāśrama-padam bhavet (12.66.10)

Śuśrūṣā :

brahma-caryāgni-paricaraṇa-guru-śuśrūṣā-nityo bhaikṣādi-sarvaniveditān-
tarātmā (12.184.8.3)
svādhyāya-nityeṣu dvijeṣu nityaṁ kṣatre ca dharmābhirate sadaiva
vaiṣye ca kṣyābhirate vasāmi śūdre ca śuśrūṣaṇa-nitya-yukte (13.11.18)

Cāra :

daṇḍa-nītyā ca satatāṁ rakṣitāṁ taṁ nareśvara
nādharaṣyat tataḥ kaś cic cāra-nītyāc ca darśanāt (12.59.131)

Aranya :

hitvā prāsāda-nilayaṁ śubhāni śayanāni ca
aranya-nityaḥ satatāṁ babhūva mṛgayā-paraḥ (1.106.7)

Ārjava :

ārjava bhuvane nityaṁ vasaty amara-saṁnidhau
tasmād ārjava-nityaḥ syād ya icched dharmam ātmanaḥ (13.130.31)

Dama :

praśritā vinayopetā dama-nityaḥ susaṁśītāḥ
prayānti sthānam ajaram sarva-karma-vivarjitāḥ (12.285.38)

Japya :

vāyav-āhārair ambupair japyā-nityaiḥ
saṁprakṣālair yatibhir dhyāna-nityaiḥ

A NOTE ON THE SANSKRIT WORD *NI-TYA*

47

dhūmaśanair ūṣmapaiḥ kṣīrapaiś ca
vibhūṣitaṁ brāhmaṇendraiḥ samantāt (13.14.38)

Kṣamā :

satya-nityaḥ kṣamā-nityo jñāna-nityo' tithi-priyaḥ
yo dadāti satāṁ nityaṁ sa mām pṛcchatu pāṇḍavaḥ (12.55.9)

Parvata-vāsa :

asmāt paras tv eṣa mahādhanuṣmān
putraḥ kuṇindādhipater variṣṭhaḥ
nirīkṣate tvām vipulāyatāmsaḥ
suvismitaḥ parvata-vāsa-nityaḥ (3.249.7)

Jāhnavī-tīra :

yac cāvasaṁ jāhnavī-tīra-nityaḥ
śataṁ samās tapyamānas tapo' ham
adām ca tatrāśvatarī-sahasraṁ
nārī-puraṁ na ca tenāham āgām (13.106.10)

Śama :

rjūnām śama-nityānām sthitānām sveṣu karmaṣu
sarvam ānantyam evāsīd iti naḥ śāśvatī śrutīḥ (13.262.15)

Samyama :

atra samyama-nityānām siddhānām svaira-cāriṇām
vimānāny anurūpāṇi kāma-bhogyāni gālava (5.109.11)

Sat-patha :

srug-bhāṇḍa-paramā nityaṁ tretāgni-śaraṇaḥ sadā
santaḥ satpatha-nityā ye te yānti paramām gatim (13.130.17)

Sabhā :

eka eva tu rājarṣir hariścandro mahāmune
kathitas te sabhā-nityo devendrasya mahātmanaḥ (2.11.48)

Vaitāna :

dānto vidheyo havya-kavye pramatto
annasya dātā satataṁ dvijebhyaḥ
amatsarī sarva-līngi-pradātā
vaitāna-nityaś ca grhāśramī syāt (12.61.12)

Vṛtti :

evam etāv āpadi līṅgam etad dharmādharmau vṛtti-nityau bhajetām
 ādyaṁ līṅgaṁ yasya tasya pramāṇam āpad-dharmaṁ saṁjaya taṁ nibodha
 (5.28.3)

Yoga :

devalasyāśrame rājan nyavasat sa mahādyutiḥ
 yoga-nityo mahārāja siddhiṁ prāpto mahātapāḥ (9.49.6)

The above list shows that out of one hundred occurrences more than one third are those of *dharmā-nitya* and those, together with *tapo-nitya* which comes next to *dharmā-nitya*, constitute more than half of the usages. The compound *dharmā-nitya* is applied to Yudhiṣṭhira, the righteous hero of our Epic and incarnation of Dharma itself, to Vidura, his most revered uncle, and others. The compound *tapo-nitya* is, of course, applied to ascetics. It is only natural that those two, *dharmā-nitya* and *tapo-nitya* constitute the majority, if one thinks of the content of our Epic, that is, our text deals much with warriors and ascetics.

The words which are construed with the word *nitya* in such position fall into two groups, that is, ethico-religious concepts (*dharmā, tapas, satya, dhyāna, japya, etc.*) and concrete objects (*vana, parvata, jāhnavī, etc.*). However, if we look more carefully, even some of the second group are of a religious nature, because *vana, jāhnavī, etc.* are the places of religious meditation and bath. This general tendency might correspond to a religious characteristic of the Epic.

The above list will shed some light upon a textual problem. The percentage of the occurrences in each book is as follow :

Book 1.	7	Book 5.	8	Book 10.	1
2.	1	6.	2	12.	37
3.	14	7.	3	13.	14
4.	1	9.	7	14.	5

The above table shows that almost two-thirds of the usages occur in the so-called Pseudo-Epics 12 and 13, and Book of Episodes 3. However, this may be simply due to the voluminous nature of those three books rather than to their lateness of composition.

Although the occurrence of *nitya* compounds is generally of sporadic nature, one notices that sections 9.49, 12.55, 12.276 and 13.130 contain

three occurrences within themselves, and that 3.126, 5.70, 12.125 and 14.4 have two. Furthermore, the compound is used more or less consecutively. Thus, we have 3.110-111, 9.38-41, 12.29-31, 12.235-236, 12.315-316 where this peculiar compound appears somewhat in chain. This frequency-rate might reveal the Epic singer's psychology, that is, the formula he once used soon comes again to his mind.³

The semantic value of the word *nitya* in this position is almost equivalent to *-para*, *-rate*, *-nirate*, *-abhirata*, *yukta*, *-upeta*, *-priya* and *-śīla*. Thus, we find in the above list passages in which compounds with these words standing as the last member appear in close context with compound ending in *-nitya*. For example :

para : dharma-parāḥ satya-nityā... (13.23.33)
 ānṛśāmsya-parair.....tapo-nityaiś... (13.153.48)

rata : guru-vṛtti-ratāḥ.....dharma-nityā... (7.133.35)
 gṛha-dharma-rato .. dharma-nityo...(12.23.5.19)
 satya-nityā dame ratāḥ (13.23.33)
 satya-nitye dame rate (13.132.4)

nirata : ijjādhyayana-nityaś ca nirataḥ (12.55.10)
 dharma-nityeṣu.....svadharma-nirateṣu (12.276.35)

abhirata : svādhyāya-nityeṣu ...kṣatre ca dharmābhirate (13.11.18)
 cf. also 12.315.50.

yukta : dharma-nityāḥ . yājanādhyāpane yuktā... (12.276.49)
 svādhyāya-nityeṣu dvijeṣu..śūdre ca śuśrūṣaṇa-nitya-yukte (13.11.18)

upeta : vinayopetā dama-nityāḥ (12.285.38)

priya : satya-nityaḥ kṣamā-nityo jñāna-nityo' tithi-priyaḥ (12.55.9)
 śāstra-nityā.....raṇa-priyaḥ (12.162.25)

Śīla :

dharmā-nitye.....dāna-śīle (12.221.25)

dharmā-śīlaiś ca tapo-nityaiś'ca (13.153.48)

In the previous note I referred to a locative value attached to the prefix *ni*-⁴. In the Epic there are several passages in which the word *ni*-*tyais* construed with the locative case and in those passages the word appears to retain the meaning of *constantly associated with*, and the like.

svādhyāyino brāhmaṇā bhikṣavaś ca tapasvino ye ca nityā vaneṣu
abhivādya vai mad-vacanena vṛddhās tathetareṣāṃ kuśalaṃ vadethāḥ
(5.30.8)

satyaṃ dhṛtiś ca śauryaṃ ca brahmacaryaṃ ca kevalam
sarvāṇi yuyudhāne' smin nitrāṇi puruṣarṣabhe (7.9.30)

satye tapasi dāne ca yajñādhikaraṇe tathā
dhanur-vede ca vede ca nityaṃ caivānvavekṣaṇe (12.50.23)

prāṇādāne ca nityā' si himsāyāṃ vartate bhavān
nāsti ceṣṭā vinā himsāṃ kim vā tvaṃ manyase dvija (14.28.21)

tasmin sadasi nityas tu vyāsa-śiṣyā dvijottamāḥ
sarva-śāstra-praṇetāraḥ kuśalā yajña-karmaṣu (14.90.37)

In these examples *nityā vaneṣu*, *vede nitya*, *prāṇādāne nitya*, *sadasi nityā* are almost equal to *vana-nitya*, *veda-nitya*, *prāṇādāna-nitya*, *sado-nitya*, the meaning being "constantly associated with wood", "constantly engaged in Vedic studies", "occupied with taking another's life" and "constantly sitting (in meditation)."

References

1. In a previous article I listed the studies on the word *ni*-*tya*-up to the year 1958, but important studies since then are as follows:
L. Renou, *Etudes vediques et pāṇineennes* 7, p. 26, Paris, 1960; M. Scheller, *Vedisch priya-und die Wortsippe frei, freien, Freund*, Göttingen, 1958. This is an illustrating monograph for the study of the word *priya*-, discussing the word in relation to Greek *φίλος* and Germanic **frija*.
2. J. Brough, "Audumbarāyaṇa's Theory of Language," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 14 (1952), pp. 73 ff.
3. I refer to the illustrating book, A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, Cambridge, Mass. 1960. One of the important tasks of Sanskrit Epic Studies might be to apply Professor Lord's theories to Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa.
4. M. Hara, "A Note on the Sanskrit Word *ni*-*tya*," pp. 95-96.

ADRṢṬA AND DHARMA IN THE VAIŚEṢIKA PHILOSOPHY

Ananta Lal Thakur

VAISHALI

A modern Vaiśeṣika would certainly equate *adrṣṭa* with *dharma* (merit) and *adharma* (demerit) and quote *dharmādharmāv adrṣṭaṁ syāt*¹ from Viśvanātha's *Bhāṣāpariccheda* in his support. This is not the view of Viśvanātha alone. Praśastapāda also is found to hold it. He adds seven qualities including *dharma* and *adharma* to the list of seventeen qualities as given in *rūparasagandhasparśāḥ saṁkhyāḥ parimāṇāni pṛthaktvaṁ samyogavibhāgau paratvāparatve buddhayaḥ sukhduḥkhe icchādveṣau prayatnāś ca guṇāḥ*—VS. I. 1.5. And he uses the term *adrṣṭa* instead of *dharma* and *adharma*.² Vyomaśiva, Śrīdhara and Udayana follow Praśastapāda and there arose no doubt as regards the validity of the equation.

But a doubt does arise when one examines the *sūtras* of Kaṇāda. Praśastapāda wrote his digest to give the Vaiśeṣika tenets in a systematic form. But at times he adds new things also. Thus we find in his work a discussion on the creator of the universe. Again, his detailed discussion on duality, chemical action and disjunction from another disjunction etc. are not directly connected with the *sūtras*. He might have received them from the then available exegetical Vaiśeṣika literature no more available to us. The case of *adrṣṭa* also might have been similar. It has not been explained in the *sūtras*. And Praśastapāda does not adduce any reason while making the equation. The word *adrṣṭa* literally means not seen, not observed or not accounted for. That it should exclusively mean merit and demerit and nothing else seems peculiar. One may, however, contend that the Vaiśeṣika has his *paribhāṣās* (technical phraseology) where he is not guided by the dictionary meanings. But a *paribhāṣā* is generally fixed by the propounders of the systems keeping the dictionary meaning in view. We may take an example. The term *artha* is used by Kaṇāda to mean *dravya* (substance), *guṇa* (quality) and *Karma* (action) collectively. This is given in the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*—*artha iti dravyaguṇakarmasu* VIII. 14. A little reflection will show that nothing beyond these three are sought for (*arthhyate*) and hence the term is suitable also. But in the case of *adrṣṭa* the author is silent. Again there are many more objects not accounted for or observed over and above merit and demerit of the individual beings. Attempts to connect every event in the universe with merit and demerit seems to mean total sacrifice of the scientific spirit.

The terms *dr̥ṣṭa* and *adr̥ṣṭa* have been used several times in the Vaiśeṣikasūtras. They are derived from the root *dr̥ś* meaning to see. Every Vaiśeṣika accepts that Kaṇāda classified and examined the entities of the universe and made distinct contribution towards the advancement of human knowledge. He seems to divide the entities into known and unknown ones and to distinguish them by the terms *dr̥ṣṭa* and *adr̥ṣṭa* respectively. His attempt was to widen the horizon of knowledge by comparison and contrast between entities. In many cases he has succeeded to discover the truth. In others his conclusions have been challenged. But the method of investigation adopted by him is one of our richest heritages. Modern sciences also have adopted it. Nobody will deny the fact that Kaṇāda developed in the hoary past a scientific attitude which guided him and his followers to ascertain the truths about this mysterious universe.

Just like *dr̥ṣṭa* and *adr̥ṣṭa* the terms *darśana* and *dr̥ṣṭi* are also connected with the root *dr̥ś*. Thus Kaṇāda's *darśana* consists of the conclusions arrived at by him about the nature of the categories into which the universe is divided by him. These conclusions are his acquisitions in the intellectual field. Vātsyāyana is also found to use the word *darśana* in the sense of finding, acquisition or conclusions about the entities. This of course is preceded by adequate investigation on proper lines. Vātsyāyana says that the soul exists in the *darśana* of one Philosopher while that it does not exist constitutes the *darśana* of another.³ In a separate context he remarks that non-acquisition of the truth is called *adr̥ṣṭa*.⁴ It simply means that *adr̥ṣṭa* is derived from *a-darśana*. This simple philological approach to the terms *dr̥ṣṭa* and *adr̥ṣṭa* seems to hold good in the ancient Vaiśeṣika context also.

Let us now see how and where Kaṇāda has actually used these two concepts. There are some cases where the attempt of the sage to give a casual explanation did not meet with the desired success and he is found to designate them as *adr̥ṣṭakārita*. Thus the movement of the consecrated stone etc. towards the thief, that of the needle towards the magnet and that of the earth at the time of an earthquake are called *adr̥ṣṭakārita* (caused due to unknown conditions). Water sprinkled at the root of a plant runs to all its branches and leaves and this is also called *adr̥ṣṭakārita*. The upward movement of the flames, the zigzag course of the wind and the very first movement of the *aṇus* to form a binary at the time of creation, the first movement of the mind, the association with and the dissociation from the body in the case of the soul, the special contact of

food and drink to nourish the body and the contact of the soul with the embryo in the womb are all similar instances.⁵ It is clear that things occur and they occur due to certain conditions. But in the cases just mentioned, the sage means to say that the conditions responsible to bring out the effects could not be ascertained upto his time. It may be argued that by '*adrṣṭakārita*' he means 'caused by invisible conditions'. But we find him referring to supernatural powers of Vedic rites to produce effects and here he does not use this expression. Of course we find the use of the expression *a-drṣṭa* in the sense of 'not visually cognised' in *na ca drṣṭānām sparśa ity adrṣṭalingo vāyuh* VS II. i, 10. But this meaning cannot hold good in the cases just cited as well as in cases like *drṣṭādrṣṭaprayojanānām drṣṭābhāve prayojanam abhyudayāya*, VS. VI. II. 1, *abhiṣecanopavāsabrahmacaryagurukulavāsavānaprasthayajñadānaprokṣaṇadiṇnakṣatramantrakālaniyamaś cā'drṣṭāya*, VS. VI. ii. 2, *adrṣṭāc ca*, VS. VI. ii. 15 and *drṣṭeṣu bhāvād adrṣṭesv abhāvāt*, VS, VIII. 13. In these *adrṣṭa* suits better to mean *ajñāta*, *ananubhūta* or *anupalabdha*.

Kaṇāda evinces firm faith in the law of causation. The cause must precede the effect or the effect will not follow. The cause may not always be known. When the cause is not known, Kaṇāda uses the term *adrṣṭakārita* with regard to the effect.

One thing deserves consideration here. The causes of the so-called *adrṣṭakārita* effects may be known at some subsequent time and in fact, modern scientists have causally accounted for the events like the upward motion of the flames and the zigzag course of wind. They should no more be regarded as *adrṣṭakārita* today. The spirit of the sage who seems to have firm faith in the gradual progress of human knowledge cannot be sacrificed.

We propose to refer to a famous saying of Jayantabhaṭṭa, the Nyāya scholar, in order to make the point clear. Jayanta asks if we suppose that the validity of the Vedas depends upon the *Nyāyaśāstra* today, what was the means to establish it prior to the advent of Akṣapāda who first propounded the *Nyāyaśāstra*? Similarly one may ask who settled the difficult points of Vedic, grammatical and metrical exegesis before Jaimini, Pāṇini and Piṅgala were born? Jayanta himself suggests the answer also. He says that all these sciences are there from time immemorial just like the Vedas and people who treated them elaborately are designated as 'authors' to the respective subjects⁶. Here eternality goes hand in hand with gradual progress. And this progress is clear to

the historians of thought in spite of the loss of authentic materials. One will have to sacrifice scientific spirit if he holds that the last word on the *Śāstra* was said by the sage himself. We have already seen the sage does not hesitate to term things unknown as unknown.

But unfortunately this spirit did not persist long and we find attempts to explain things with the preconceived notion of omniscience of the propounder of the *Śāstra*. But we find *Praśastapāda* to distinguish people like himself from the *Yogin*⁷ and in *na cā'smad buddhibhyo liṅgam ṛṣeḥ* VS, Vi, i, 2, recognised as a *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* by authorities like Śrīdhara (*Nyāyakandalī*, p. 216), Udayana (*Kiraṇāvalī*, p. 115), Bhaṭṭa Vāḍindra and Candrānanda (but omitted by Śaṅkaramiśra), Kaṇāda distinguishes himself from a *ṛṣi*. A *ṛṣi* means a 'seer' and is generally taken to mean omniscient. Later *ācāryas* insist upon attributing omniscience to the authors of the different *Sāstras*. Not only that, attributes like '*tāyin*' and *paramakāruṇika* originally used for the Buddha, came to be used for the propounders of other *Śāstras* also. The attempt to use these for others seems to be actuated by a desire to have a counterpart of the Buddha in other schools as well. The same may be true with regard to the epithet *sarvajña* which replaced its ancient counterpart—*ṛṣi* in later works.

It may be added in this connection that the connotation of the term *sarvajña* is found to vary from one system to another. Still it is found to be used in the general sense. The Buddhist holds one as omniscient (*sarvajña*), when one knows the implication of the four noble truths. Dharmakīrti clearly shows that a *sarvajña* according to the Buddhists need not know the number of the flies in the air. Nor does clear vision constitute omniscience. In the later case a vulture should deserve the worship offered to the sage⁹. The later Buddhist scholar Ratnakīrti echoes the assertion of Dharmakīrti when he says—*upayuktasarvajñam eva prasādhayāmah*. And to him *upayuktasarvajña* means nothing but the knower of the four noble truths¹⁰. It is interesting to note that some people who refute the omniscience of the propounders of other schools accept the same in the sage or sages of their own schools. A verse current among the philosophers raises the pertinent question—If you accept Kapila as omniscient how is it that you deny the same attribute to the Buddha? And if both are taken as omniscient how is it that they differ in their views¹¹? It shows that the term omniscient to be used in respect of both required to be restricted in its connotation.

The *Mīmāṃsakas* do not accept omniscience at all. The *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* also seems to accept no human being as omniscient. Udayana

is clear on this point when he says—*tadanyasminn anāśvāsāt* (*Nyāyaku-sumāñjali*, II. i)—There is no faith in the omniscience of any other being except the Almighty.

Of course the Jaina conception of omniscience differs from that of others and the omniscient being according to the Jainas knows everything under every circumstance and everybody is potentially an omniscient being. Thus we find that the word *sarvajña* does not always signify the knowledge of everything. And omniscience in the case of human beings is not accepted by all. Thus Kaṇāda may be called a *ṛṣi* or *sarvajña* only in a secondary sense. It is not, therefore, impossible that some properties of some entities should remain unknown to him under certain circumstances.

We have no objection in accepting that in many cases *dharma* and *adharma* may remain unknown. But that does not ensure that the denotation and connotation of *dhrama* taken together should be identical with those of *adrṣṭa*. Things other than merit and demerit may also fall within the scope of *adrṣṭa*. What is *adrṣṭa* today, may be *drṣṭa* tomorrow and what is *adrṣṭa* to X, may be *drṣṭa* to Y.

Again, there are cases where causal connection has been shown as due to *dharma* as distinguished from *adrṣṭa*. Thus dream and dream within a dream may be due to *dharma* according to the sūtra—*dharmāc ca*, IX. 24. Here *dharma* has specifically been used. Similar is the case in —*ārṣam siddhadarśanam ca dharmebhyaḥ*, VS, IX. 28.

The term *dharma* is not always used in the sense of 'merit' in the *Vaiśeṣikadarśana*. We may cite the two initial sūtras of Kaṇāda to prove our contention. In *athā 'to dharmam vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* I, i, 1., the sage fixes up the scene of his discourse saying that in the treatise he will explain *dhrama*. In the second sūtra he defines *dharma*—*yato 'bhyudayani-ḥśreyasasiddhiḥ sa dharmāḥ*, I. i. 2. According to some, in both the cases *dharma* means merit. But the whole treatise is found to discuss the characteristics of the categories and not 'Merit' alone as suggested by *Śaṅkaramiśra* and others. They cannot explain why the sage should indulge in describing things which have not even a remote connection with merit when his stating assertion proposes to restrict the discussion on 'merit' alone. Nobody would take a man seriously whose behaviour does not conform to his pronounced proposal. The Buddhists have actually pointed out that to describe the six categories by one desirous to describe 'merit' is similar to go to the Himālayas with a view to go to the sea.¹²

In fact many things discussed in the Śāstra would be meaningless if merit becomes the sole object of discussion here.

The means of attaining a truth in Śāstra is the application of comparison and contrast for which *sādharmya* and *vaidharmya* are the technical terms. Both of them are derived from *dharma*. It will be ridiculous in case we derive them from the word *dharma* when it denotes 'merit'.

It is, therefore, proper to hold that in both the sūtras *dharma* denotes 'characteristics' and not 'merit'. The whole treatise discusses the characteristics of the categories (including of course merit and demerit which are characteristics of the soul). Characteristics form the basis of comparison and contrast. If these are accepted, there will be no contradiction between the initial assertion and actual practice.

It should be made clear that no commentary on the Sūtras available today accepts this meaning of the term *dharma*. The Sūtras in question do not specifically assert whose characteristics they propose to discuss. Here we may turn our attention to the *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha* of Praśastapāda. It is the most authoritative Vaiśeṣika text, next of course, to the Sūtras. A *Samgraha* is a digest faithfully summarising the views of Sūtra and the *Bhāṣya*¹³. The present *Samgraha* in its initial verse proposes to deal with the characteristics of the categories (*padārthadharmasaṁgrahaḥ pravakṣyate*). Udayana at the conclusion of the expression adds *etena...trisūtrī vyākhyātā*¹⁴ meaning thereby that it explains the first three sūtras of Kaṇāda including the two quoted above. When the verse is read in the background of these sūtras it becomes clear that Praśastapāda equates *dharma* with *Padārthadharmā* and Udayana lends his support to this view.

It should be added here that the above will warrant a substantial change in the import of the first three sūtras.

The first will then mean : Hereafter we shall explain the characteristics of the categories. The second sūtra will assert : By *dharma* we mean that from which prosperity and emancipation arise.¹⁵ The definition of *dharma* requires a little clarification. It is well-known that proper application of proper objects produces desired results. One should first know the characteristics of the entities by comparison and contrast so that one may apply them properly. In *tadvacanād āmnāyasya prāmāṇyam* I. i. 3, the sage seems to assert that (to a Vaiśeṣika) the authority of the Vedas is derived from the delineation of these characteristics. The

importance of the Vedas varies from school to school and man to man. To a Vaiśeṣika its importance lies in the fact that it gives him a knowledge of the characteristics of the deities, the sacrifices and the self. Hence the Vedas serve a purpose which the Vaiśeṣika seeks to bring to perfection from the philosophical point of view. The Vaiśeṣika, therefore, supports the validity of the Vedas in unambiguous language.

The continuity of the Vaiśeṣika traditions was broken long ago and the ancient exegetical works like the *Vaiśeṣikavākya*, the *Rāvaṇabhāṣya* the *Ātreyaabhāṣya*, the *Vaiśeṣikakaṇḍī*, the *Bhāṣyaṣīkā* of Praśastamati etc. have been lost. References and quotations in later works are the only means for knowing their existence. Śaṅkaramiśra and other commentators on the Sūtras do not betray any acquaintance with these ancient Vaiśeṣika works.¹⁶ The views available in later works are found tinged with non-Vaiśeṣika tenets. Critical examination, therefore, seems necessary to ascertain the import of the sūtras of Kaṇāda.

References

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2. चशब्दसमुच्चिताश्च गुरुत्वद्रवत्वस्नेहसंस्कारादृष्टशब्दाः सप्तैव,
P(adārtha)d(harma)s(aṁgraha), Chaukhamba ed., p. 47
3. अस्त्यात्मेत्येकं दर्शनम्, नास्त्यात्मेत्यपरम्, *Nyāyabhāṣya*, I. i. 23
4. अदर्शनं खल्वदृष्टमुच्यते, Ibid., III. ii, 68. Cf. दृष्टान्त and दृष्टि (in कुट्टि Manu XII. 95 and शिवदृष्टि title of a book) and भिच्छा दिट्ठि in Pāli.
5. मणिगमनं सूच्यभिसर्पणमित्यदृष्टकारितानि । VS, V. i. 15.
तद्विशेषेणादृष्टकारितम् । VS, V. ii. 2.
वृक्षाभिसर्पणमित्यदृष्टकारितम् । VS, V. ii. 8.
अनेरुध्वज्वलनं वायोश्च तिर्यकपवनमणुमनसोश्चाद्यं कर्मेत्यदृष्टकारितानि ।
VS, V. ii. 14.
अपसर्पणमुपसर्पणमशितपीतसंयोगाः कार्यान्तरसंयोगाश्चेत्यदृष्टकारितानि ।
VS, V. ii. 19
6. *Nyāyamañjarī*, Chaukhamba edn. p. 5.

7. PDS, Chaukhamba edn., p. 553. Here Yogin has been used in the sense of ṛṣi.
8. Vide *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, I. 1. cf. *P(ramāṇa)v(ārtika)* I. 147-8 and I.36
9. *PV*. I. 33; III. 213
10. *Ratnakīrtinibandhāvalī* p. 1.
११. कपिलो यदि सर्वज्ञो सुगतो नेति का प्रमा ।
तावुभौ यदि सर्वज्ञौ मतभेदस्तयोः कथम् ॥
१२. धर्मं व्याख्यातुकामस्य षट्पदार्थोपवर्णनम् ।
समुद्रं गन्तुकामस्य हिमवद्गमनोपमम् ॥
१३. विस्तरेणोपदिष्टानामर्थानां सूत्रभाष्ययोः ।
निबन्धो यः समासेन संग्रहं तं विदुर्बुधाः ॥ *Nāṭyaśāstra* VI. 9.
14. *Kriyāvalī* Bibl. Ind. edn. p. 78-9.
१५. के धर्मा इत्यपेक्षायां साधर्म्यरूपा वैधर्म्यरूपा अनुवृत्तव्यावृत्तप्रत्ययरूपा इत्यर्थः ।
Ibid., p.36.
१६. सूत्रमात्रावलम्बेन निरालम्बेऽपि गच्छतः ।
खे खेलवन्ममाप्यत्र साहसं सिद्धिमेष्यति ॥ *Vaiśeṣikasūtrapaskāra* initial
Verse No. 3.



NEW LIGHT ON AN EPISODE IN PRATIHĀRA RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA HISTORY

Buddha Prakash

KURUKSHETRA

In the checqured history of Pratihāra-Rāṣṭrakūṭa struggle the expedition of Indra III against Kānyakubja in 916 A.D. is a very stirring and spectacular episode. Describing it the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV state that "the courtyard (of the temple of the god) Kālapriya became uneven by the strokes of the tusks of his rutting elephants. The unfathomable Yamunā, which rivals the sea, was crossed by his horses. He completely devastated this Mahodaya, the city of the enemy, which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name of kuśasthala (the seed-bed of the kuśa grass) or the jungle".¹ In the battle of Kanauj the Rāṣṭrakūṭa commander Narasimha Cālukya, "plucked from the Gurjara King's arms the goddess of victory whom, though desirous of keeping, he had held too loosely. He captured the champion elephants which marched in front and, putting to flight the army of the Ghūrjararāja, secured the victory. Terrified at the army of this Naraga, which fell like a thunderbolt, Mahipāla fled in consternation, not stopping to eat or sleep or rest. His own horse he bathed at the junction of the Ganges and the sea".² This account shows that Indra III moved with lightning speed by the Bhopal-Jhansi-Kalpi route and swooped upon Kanauj catching Mahipāla almost unawares. In the battle, that followed, the elephant and cavalry corps of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa routed the Pratihāra army and spread plunder and destruction at Kanauj. Mahipāla fled towards Prayāga with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa commander Narasimha pursuing him. But he escaped alive and soon afterwards the Rāṣṭrakūṭas also retired to the South. With their retreat Mahipāla came out of his refuge and reconstituted his empire so speedily that in the very next year, 917 A.D., the Asni inscription, found in the Fatehpur-Haswa district of U. P., spoke of his victorious and prosperous rule on earth and referred to him in the full panoply of imperial title as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*.³

Indra III succeeded his grand father Kṛṣṇa at the end of 914 A.D. and his official coronation took place at a sacred place, Kurundakā, probably Kurundwad in the southern Maratha country, in February

915 A.D. At that time he got himself weighed with gold and granted about 650 villages yielding an income of 21 lakhs to various temples, monasteries and institutions. In the autumn of 916 A.D. he launched his expedition in North India, mentioned above. The question arises what prompted him to lead this campaign so soon after his coming to the throne and what was its character as a matter of fact.

We know that during the reign of the Pratihāra monarch Mahendrapāla (885 or 890—910 A.D.) the Rāṣṭrakūṭas did not disturb the peace of Kanauj since their king Kṛṣṇa II was mostly embroiled in a struggle with the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgī and the Coḷas of the Tamil country. The wars with the Cālukya ruler Vijayāditya III and his successor Bhīma severely strained his nerves and his interference in Coḷa affairs, necessitated by the support of his daughter's son Kannar against his step-brother Parāntaka, resulted in his decisive defeat at Vallala. In that situation the Candela chief Vijayaśakti, obviously at the instance of his overlord Mahendrapāla, launched an expedition on the South and "like Rāma reached even the southernmost points of India".⁴ It appears that soon after this campaign the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King thought it prudent to come to terms with Mahendrapāla. As I have shown elsewhere, Rājāśekhara's Prākṛta play *Karpūramañjarī* suggests that Mahendrapāla attained the status of paramountcy by marrying the daughter of the southern king Vallabharāja who obviously stands for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King.⁵ These slights must have rankled in the hearts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

In 910 A.D. Mahendrapāla passed away and his son Mahīpāla came to the throne, whether peacefully or after some trouble we do not know—the theory that he was followed by Bhoja II being ably refuted by Daśarath Śarma.⁶ With the accession of the new ruler, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas thought it opportune to strike at the Pratihāras and avenge themselves on them. On this subject some new light is thrown by the recently discovered Vajirkheda Copperplate Grants of Indra III, dated February 24, 915 A.D., found at a village about four miles to the east of Malegaon in the Nasik district.⁷ Verse 9 of these grants relates that Jagattuṅga, the son of Kṛṣṇa II, inflicted such a crushing defeat on the Pratihāras that the blows of his sword shattered them and those of them, who survived, did not shed the fever of their fear for quite some time.⁸ Soon after this resounding victory Jagattuṅga died during the life-time of his aged father.⁹ Since this victory was won by him during the reign of his father, Kṛṣṇa, the panegyrists of the Bagumra and Jambgaon plates attributed it to Kṛṣṇa himself without mentioning Jagattuṅga at

AN EPISODE IN THE PRATIHĀRA-RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA HISTORY

61

all, but the author of the *praśasti* of the Vajirkheda plates, Rājasekhara, who was more intimately conversant with contemporary history, gave a correct and more detailed account of the events, and even the writer of the Karda grant referred to them by vaguely mentioning the military moves of Jagattuṅga.¹⁰

From the above records it is clear that during the reign of Kṛṣṇa II his son Jagattuṅga took the offensive against the Pratihāras to redress the wrongs done to his family during the regime of Mahendrapāla. That this campaign could only be undertaken soon after the death of Mahendrapāla, when Mahīpāla had just ascended the throne, is manifest from the consideration that there could be no question of its being undertaken during the reign of Mahendrapāla, who, as shown above, saw no reverse in his dealings with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and rather ranked as the paramount sovereign of India. The train of events in that period makes it abundantly clear that it must have synchronized with the death of Mahendrapāla and the accession of Mahīpāla.

Though Jagattuṅga's offensive against the Pratihāras between 910 A.D. and 914 A.D. gave a rude shock to Mahīpāla, as the Vajirkheda inscriptions suggest, it did not completely reduce or crush them. It is not unlikely that the sudden demise of Jagattuṅga prevented the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from pursuing it to the end. In fact, it remained no more than a devastating raid though it inflicted a trauma on the Pratihāras. It is quite probable that the troubles at the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court during the last days of Kṛṣṇa II, which, on his death, created serious difficulties for his grandson Indra III, to which the Vajirkheda plates make a pointed reference,¹¹ resulted in a respite in this campaign. But as soon as Indra III, after overcoming his enemies and surmounting the trouble created by them, ascended the throne in 915 A.D., he hastened to take up the unfinished offensive against the Pratihāras and launched the expedition against them in 916 A.D. Thus we observe that the said expedition of Indra III was in fact, a continuation, rather a follow up action, of the military operations launched during the last years of the reign of Kṛṣṇa II under the energetic command of Jagattuṅga. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa offensive started on the accession of Mahīpāla to the Pratihāra throne, had its beginning in the raid of Jagattuṅga and culmination in the attack of Indra III. Both were parts of the same move, the lull between them being the result of the death of Jagattuṅga, then the demise of Kṛṣṇa II and then the outbreak of internal troubles, which, however, lasted only for a short time.

From the above account it is clear that Indra's northern expedition against Kanauj of 916 A.D. was not an isolated, arbitrary and freakish vagary of the youthful Rāṣṭrakūṭa adventure but was the necessary outcome and upshot of the moves and policies launched during the preceding reign. From it we can also gather that the first years of the reign of Mahipāla at Kanauj were of constant strain and sustained tension. It is wrong to think that the blow of 916 A.D. was just a bolt from the blue.

References

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यन्माद्यद्विपदन्तघातविषमं कालप्रियप्राङ्गणम्
तीर्णा यत्तुरगैरगाधयमुना सिन्धुप्रतिस्पर्धिनी ।
येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं
नाम्नाद्यापि जनैः कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते ॥
2. Pampā, *Vikramārjunavijaya* ed. Lewis Rice, p. 3-4 *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana*, p. 26.
3. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xvi, p. 173-5
4. Khajuraho Inscription, verse 20, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. I, p. 141-42
5. Buddha Prakash, *Studies in Indian History and Civilization*, ch. xix, p. 415-427
6. Daśaratha Śarma, *Rājasthan Through the Ages*.
7. V. B. Kolte, 'Two Vajirkheda Copperplate Grants of Indra III, *Nagpur University Journal (Humanities)* Vol. xvii no. 2, April, 1967, p. 117-142
8. *Ibid*, verse 9, P. 134
यद्यपि प्रचण्डासिपातविश्लिष्टविग्रहाः ।
हतशेषा विमुंचन्ति गूर्जरा न भयज्वरम् ॥
9. A.S. Altekar in *The Early History of the Deccan*, ed. G. Yazdani, p. 285
10. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol xii p. 265
जनकगृहीतैः परमण्डलैरसंतुष्टमानसः स्वपितुः ।
एकच्छत्रां पृथ्वीं कर्तुं निरगाज्जगत्तुङ्गः ॥
11. *Vajirkheda Plate*, verse 17, OP. cit., p. 135.
आक्रान्तं सममेव शत्रुशिरसा येन स्वसिंहासनं भू(भ्रू)भंगेन
भंगमपरे नीताः परं विद्विषः ।
तेषां राज्यमपि क्षणाच्चलमनोराज्यावशेषं कृतं राज्ये कल्पलतेव
कामफलदा यस्याभवन्मेदिनी ॥

VIṢṆU'S NAME ANIRUDDHA

J. Gonda

UTRECHT

The name Aniruddha so often given to Viṣṇu does not appear in the *samhitā* and *brāhmaṇa* texts known to us.¹ Where, when, and by whom it was first used in connection with this High God is, hidden from us by the incompleteness of our sources of information. So much is, however, clear that the name—whether or not it first was to indicate a separate divine figure—was used—or could at least be preferred—to characterize Him as the divine power which can function freely, whose activities, influence and movements are unobstructed and unhampered, which can manifest itself at will and cannot be thwarted and stopped. It is not open to question that these ideas are in perfect harmony with the well-known belief in Viṣṇu's power of pervasion. He has pervaded (*vyāp-*) the universe and obtained the quality called *vikrānti*, the "all—pervading energy".² As far as God's cosmic activity is concerned, this may mean that He traversed the universe freely without encountering barriers or opposition.

There are indeed places where the name Aniruddha is used in connection with His omnipresent might (*vaibhavam*). Explaining the *R̥gvedic* *Puruṣasūkta* (10. 90) in a Viṣṇuite sense the *Mudgala-Upaniṣad*³ states that stanza 1 of that hymn describes Viṣṇu's universal pervasion or inherent and inseparable presence (*vyāpti-*) from the point of view of place. The author moreover contends that the pronoun *sa* in *R̥gveda* S. 10. 90. 1c signifies "the Endless or Infinite One" (*ananta-*), explaining *daśāṅgulaṁ* as *anantayojanam*; that is to say that the *Puruṣa*'s extending beyond the earth means that he is endless. It cannot be denied that these two names of the Supreme Being fit the context ("covering the earth on all sides, he extended beyond it") very well, the name Viṣṇu being often explained as meaning "the one who traverses and pervades the universe" (*vyāpaka-*).⁴ In the second stanza, the author continues, Viṣṇu's pervasive presence is described with regard to time: "Puruṣa is this All, what has been and is to be". Stanza 3 deals with God as a giver of final emancipation, making mention of Hari's⁵ omnipresent might and sovereignty (*vaibhavam*); alternatively the one who appears in quadruple manifestation may be meant: the Vedic text indeed speaks of one fourth of the *Puruṣa* which is in all beings and of three fourths which are the

immortal in heaven. Stanza 4, stating that Puruṣa rose upward with three quarters, one quarter coming here into being again spreading in all directions, is explained as a reference to Aniruddha's omnipresent might (*aniruddhasya vaibhavam*). The occurrence of this name is indeed in harmony with its etymological meaning.

However, this does not seem to be its only implication. What is unobstructed and may move at will is free and alive, exempt from death and decay. Thus the Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra 2. 3 (5). 4. f., dealing with the tarpaṇa rite,⁶ prescribes the use of flowing (cf. VājS. 22. 25) and "unobstructed" (*aniruddha*-) water: *śravantīṣv aniruddhāsu trayo varṇā dvijātayaḥ prātar utthāya kurvīran devataṛṣipitṛtarpaṇam*. The purport of this prescription is clear: flowing and unobstructed waters are moving waters and movement is life. Stagnant water is not fit for ritual use: cf. TaittS. 6. 4. 2. 3 "the running water (*vahantīḥ*) is pure, fit for sacrifice, and divine [or, rather, "inhabited by divine power (s)".⁷]" Hence also BaudhDhŚ. 2. 3 (5). 5 *niruddhāsu* (sc. *apsu*) *na kurvīran*. It may in this connection be remembered that when the anti-gods and powers of chaos and obstruction were predominant the waters were watched over by the serpent demon and confined (*niruddhā āpaḥ paṇineva gāvaḥ*, RgvedaS. 1. 32. 11).

A powerful being which is unobstructed is able to fulfil its own normal functions, to perform its special tasks. That the adjective *niruddha*—could characterize a person or an object as being obstructed in his (its) normal functions and especially as being impeded and hampered in his (its) movements appears for instance from AiB. 3. 36. 3, where Prajāpati's offspring is said to have been surrounded by Agni and controlled, so that they kept scorching and blazing (*tā agninā parigatā niruddhāḥ... atīṣṭhan*). When, according to AiB. 7. 19. 3, "holy power" (*brahma*) and "lordly power" (*kṣatram*) pursued the sacrifice, the latter could not attain it, but the former succeeded in attaining it: it even kept blocking it (*nirudhyātīṣṭhat*), so that it was *āptaḥ* and *niruddhaḥ*.⁸ The substantive *niruddha*-occurs to denote the idea of "confinement, captivity": Suparṇādhyaṇya 15 (29). 4; for the related verb see VādhūlaS., p. 109 (13. 4)⁹ (the text deals with cattle: when the sun sets *nirudhyanti badhnanty anyān*). Those who are to accompany the sacrificial horse during its wanderings are advised to keep it from water suitable for bathing and from mares (ŚatB. 13. 4. 2. 17, the verb used is *nirundhīdhvam*): again the idea of hampering somebody's free movement. Being

niruddha—may in a sense be opposed to “being firmly established” (*pratiṣṭhita*): a certain Vīṭahavya was, according to PañcB. 9. 1. 9, for a long time *niruddha*-, i. e. kept off, by enemies (comm.), from his dominions or his possession” (Caland).¹⁰ Anyhow, the implications of *niruddha* are clear from the context: he saw a sāman and in consequence was restored (to his dominions) and firmly established (*pratyatiṣṭhat*). The Maruts were believed to refuse admittance (*nirundhate*) to those who go to the “world of heaven” without notification to them, or they were likely to crush them (AiB. 1. 10. 2). Compare ChU. 8. 6. 5. The sense of “obstructing”¹¹ or “thwarting (somebody)” was already known to the poets of the Ṛgveda (1. 8. 2; 1. 53. 4; 1. 122. 7; cf. also SatB. 3. 7. 3. 8 etc.)

Now, those who in the so-called second upaniṣadic period discussed transmigration came to apply the noun *nirodha*—also to the stopping of rebirth. Says the author of PrU. 1. 10: “that is the final goal..., that is the stopping (of rebirth)” (*parāyaṇam etasmān na punar āvartanta ity eṣa nirodhaḥ*). Discussing the transitoriness of all living beings MaiU. 1. 4 notices that even great kings are mortal and that also in the case of demi-gods etc. there is *nirodha*-, which here must mean “a check on continued existence”, i. e. “extinction”.¹² It is, therefore, not surprising that a teacher enjoining those who aspire to the highest state by means of yoga uses the term also. Thus MaiU. 6. 34 *mano nirodhavyam* “the “mind” (psyche) is to be restrained”; BhagG. 6. 20 = YoŚiU. 3. 14 *uparamate cittam niruddham yogasevayā* “when thought is curbed by practice of control, and comes to quiet”; VaikhSmS. 5, 1 (*indriyāṇi*); HamsaU. 6 (*prāṇān*) and compare also YoŚiU. 6. 17 *ghrāṇarandhre nirodhayet*. Here we have arrived at the technical use made of the term in Yoga: see Pat. YS. 1. 2 *yogaś cittavṛttinirodhaḥ* “yoga is the interruption of the fluctuations of the mind” (see also 1. 51; 3. 9).¹³

The author of VaikhSmS. 8. 10 informs us that those who belonged to one of the four sub-classes of the Sāraṅga-yogins were called the *anirodhakāḥ* (“those who do not restrain”), because they do not follow the sixteen-fold yoga technique involving such practices as the regulations (restraint) of the breath. (Those who do control their breath following this yoga technique are called *nirodhakāḥ*). Those who do not restrain their breath are motivated by the consideration that they are Viṣṇu (*ibidem... sārāṅgās teṣv anirodhakā aham viṣṇur iti dhyātvā ye caranti teṣāṃ prāṇāyāmā-dayo na santi*).



Giving instructions to yogins the TrisBU. 2. 142 enjoins them to endeavour to reach God, i. e. Viṣṇu, using his names *caturbāhuṃ kirīṭinam aniruddham harim*. Thus the word appears in enumerations of God's name, e. g. GopUTU. 64 *śrīkṛṣṇāyāniruddhāya*; ibid. 35 *rāmo' ham aniruddho 'ham ātmānam cārcayed budhaḥ*; ibid. 43; TripViMNU. 7. 41. At ViDhs. 67. 2, where eight oblations are to be offered each of which is given to another "aspect" of Viṣṇu: *vāsudevāya saṃkarṣaṇāya pradyumnāyāniruddhāya puruṣāya satyāyācyutāya vāsudevāya*.

From the above text-places it is clear that the term *aniruddha* was widely used to denote such ideas as "unhampered, unobstructed, moving and acting freely", the form (a verbal adjective) admitting also of the interpretation "who (which) cannot be obstructed, hampered; beyond any form of restraint, confinement, obstruction, suppression, destruction". Since a name is an actuality expressed in a word which—if the name belongs to a divinity—lends to the divine presence some settled content, it enables the worshipper to form an idea of that divine presence and to come to some understanding with the power which it represents. The name, being a "double" of the object for which it stands or a representative indissolubly associated with that object, gives the person who knows it the power to enter into contact with its bearer, to call, invite, summon or activate that bearer. Knowledge of the name may moreover be a means of attracting or transferring to oneself the specific power inherent in its bearer. It is, therefore, no matter of indifference that the term *aniruddha* was received by a definite group of worshippers as a name of a divine person. Even if that person had, as a hero or legendary figure, existed before it was worshipped or raised to divine rank, his name cannot have failed to appeal to his adherents.¹⁴ Its literal meaning must have attracted the attention of intelligent Viṣṇuites as indicating an aspect of God's multiple and many-sided personality. A study of the names and epithets assigned to the Supreme Being may indeed be greatly helpful in understanding its character, that is, the thoughts and feelings of its devotees with regard to it. Any investigation into the history of divine names, comprising also a study of their use as a noun, may be a welcome addition to our insight into the religious life of the ancient Indians.

We do not know whether, or how far, Aniruddha ever was an independent, more or less divine, figure and the object of cult of his own. Nor should we draw unfounded conclusions from the connections, relations and functions attributed to him in the Mahābhārata and the

purāṇas, which are no doubt largely due to a tendency to harmonization, systematization and to the desire to express religious truths in the form of mythological imagery. Yet it is interesting to cast a glance at the character, functions and position of Aniruddha in the Great Epic and some other texts. That he is said to have been one of the kings present when Yudhiṣṭhira entered newly built palace (Mbh. 2. 4. 24) is not surprising. Kṛṣṇa also was a prince of the Dāśārhas etc. Of greater interest is Mbh. 6. 61. 66, where he is said to have been known as the eternal Viṣṇu (*viṣṇum avyayam*) and the creator of Brahmā: *pradyumnād aniruddhaṁ tvaṁ yaṁ vidur viṣṇum avyayam|aniruddho' srjan māṁ vai brahmāṇaṁ lokadhāriṇam*. Mbh. 12. 326. 59 is more explicit: "Brahman springs from Aniruddha's navel" and 12. 326. 39 the same epic identifies him with the Īśvara (cf. also 12. 327. 26) to call him in 12. 327. 63 "the creator of the world" (*lokasargakāḥ*). At 12. 327. 82 the Supreme God in the form of Aniruddha (*devam amītaujaśam*) showed himself to Brahmā.¹⁵ Elsewhere he is given a place among the personifications of the basic principles adopted by the Sāṃkhya school of thought to explain the existence and structure of the universe¹⁶: in Mbh. 12. 327. 26 he is identified with the Mahānātmā or Ahamkāra which sprang from the Avyakta (Pradhāna) in order to create the world; having assumed a manifest form he created Brahmā-Pitāmaha and the five elements. Variant forms of this theme can in this connection be left out of consideration. What is relevant is the high position, the independent creative power ascribed to Aniruddha.

The same remark may be made with regard to the position attributed to him in the Pāñcarātra schools of Viṣṇuite thought. Teaching a chain of emanations the Pāñcarātrins hold that the first beings which have successively come into existence, called vyūhas, are Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, each vyūha being Viṣṇu Himself.¹⁷ The three vyūhas have, each of them, two high qualities, Aniruddha śakti ("creative power") and tejas ("brilliant energy").¹⁸ Each vyūha has two activities, a creative and a moral one. Whereas Saṃkarṣaṇa is, in harmony with a literal interpretation of his name ("drawing out, dragging along"), responsible for the production of non-pure creation in an embryonic condition, as a chaotic mass without internal distinctions,¹⁹ and the duality of Puruṣa and Prakṛti makes its first appearance through Pradyumna, Aniruddha—who is identified with the Puruṣottama and also called Mahāviṣṇu—taking over creation of the latter, evolves out of it manifest matter, time, souls, becoming the ruler of the Cosmic Eggs and their contents, which he is

said to support and protect,²⁰ and “giving opportunity for growth to body and soul”²¹. Or Aniruddha is explicitly said to be the creator, Pradyumna the preserver, Saṁkarṣaṇa the absorber (LakṣmīT. 4. 19). As such he creates also Brahmā.²² Elsewhere however (e. g. AhirbS. 55. 21) all three activities are ascribed to him. His ethical activity is said to be the teaching of the whole truth about the ultimate goal of the soul, i. e. final liberation, the activities of the other vyūhas being in a way of a preparatory character.²³ It is Aniruddha who acts as the antaryāmin and who bestows upon men the fruits of their actions (AhirbS. 59. 34). All the vibhāvas (manifestations, avatāras) are declared to descend from him.²⁴ He is also expressly and repeatedly identified with the well-known one fourth of God which is manifested in the universe; with this one fourth he creates the Cosmic Egg.²⁵ In AhirbS. 59 that one quarter of God which alone has become the world is quite naturally identified with him. Hence his function as the protector of the gross universe²⁶ and, probably, his association with the “wheel of Potency” which has five spokes (AhirbS. 8. 46), the number five being also characteristic of other divine powers representing, or connected with, the totality of creation and universe.²⁷ I need not add more particulars; it may suffice to observe that other texts describe Aniruddha, for instance, as being Vibhu “of all pervading might” (LakṣmīT 8. 16), or as identical with Hiraṇyagarbha (KṛṣṇaU. 2). These statements are in accordance with the teaching of MudgalaU. 2: “The Great Puruṣa after having divided himself into four, was with three fourths in the highest firmament. By the other fourth, viz. Aniruddha-Nārāyaṇa, all things came to exist”.

From the above exposition of facts an interesting problem seems to emerge. If appearances are not deceptive this problem may be posed in the form of an alternative. Is there some room for the supposition that the name Aniruddha, before becoming one of the names or epithets of the Lord Viṣṇu, indicated a more or less distinct, more or less divine or rather deified²⁸ person who was believed to occupy himself with creating, and who was above all characterized by his being immune and safe from any form of restraint, control or frustration? Was this figure in the course of time adopted by the adherents of Viṣṇuism and identified with their Lord? Or was, because of the suggestive force of his name and on account of other qualities, a legendary person²⁹ called Aniruddha and, in all probability, thanks to his relations with Kṛṣṇa, introduced into Viṣṇuism, in the course of time identified with creative divine figures and important philosophical and cosmogonic principles of which he at first was considered

to be "something like a tutelar deity".³⁰ In view of the value attached by the early Viṣṇuites to other names of their God,³¹ it would be difficult to suppose that the literal meaning of the name had nothing to do with the rise of its bearer to his high position.

It is in this connection worth recalling that terms such as *avyāhata*—"unimpeded" were indeed used to explain the functions of the figure under discussion. Revealing her nature and power the goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī says: *nilīnacitrarūpā yā sarvatra samavasthitā/avyāhatāsīc chaktir me so' niruddhaḥ prakīrtitaḥ* (LakṣmīT. 4. 10). According to the MatsyaP. 248. 48 f. Aniruddha owes his name to the fact that nobody restrains or obstructs him: *niroddhā vidyate yasmān na te bhūteṣu kaścana/aniruddhas tataḥ proktaḥ pūrvam eva maharṣibhiḥ*.³²

It may finally be recalled that Saṁkarṣaṇa, one of the other vyūhas (=Balarāma), evinces, not only in his name, which may be explained as "(the) ploughing one", but also in his characteristic emblems, viz. a ploughshare and sometimes a pestle used in pounding corn, traits of character which are usually proper to a harvest or bucolic deity.³³

References

1. For Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha as names and for Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta as aspects of Lord Viṣṇu see ViṣṇuP., 5. 18. 58; also ViṣṇuSmṛti, 67. 2.
2. For particulars see my book Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954, p. 54 ff.; 64 ff.
3. For a translation and commentary see my article which is to appear in the Frauwallner Felicitation Volume, Vienna 1968.
4. Aspects, p. 54 f.
5. Aspects, p. 107.
6. P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, II, Poona 1941, p. 689 f.
7. Compare also J. J. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, III, p. 231. For the purificatory power of "living" (running) water see also G. van der Leeuw, Religion in essence and manifestation, London 1938, p. 344; F. Heiler, Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion, Stuttgart 1961, p. 186 ff.

8. See e. g. also MānavaŚs. 5. 1. 8. 1 ff. ; 5. 1. 10. 31 ("one who is detained"); YogacūḍāmanyU. 59.
9. Edited by W. Caland, Acta Orientalia (Leyden) 6, p. 109,4.
10. W. Caland, Pañcavimśa-Brāhmaṇa, Calcutta 1931, p. 196.
11. For 'obstruction of breath' see e. g. VāsDhś. 25. 6.
12. For a complete translation now see also J. A. B. van Buitenen, The Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad, The Hague 1962, p. 124 f.
13. It may be recalled that the Buddhists describe the third of the four "noble truths" as duḥkhanīrodha—, or, briefly, as *nīrodha*—.
14. For the Sātvatas and their Vāsudeva religion see e. g. R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems, Strassburg 1913, p. 5 ff.
15. For the horse's head see R. H. van Gulik, Hayagrīva, Thesis Utrecht 1935, p. 11 ff.
16. Compare e. g. R. Garbe, Die Sāmkhya-Philosophie, Leipzig 1917, p. 57.
17. For particulars see F. O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra, Adyar, Madras 1916, p. 35 ff. ; S. Das Gupta, A History of Indian philosophy, III, Cambridge 1940, p. 34 ff. ; L. Renou and J. Filliozat, L'Inde classique, I, Paris 1947, p. 648 ff.
18. Cf. e. g. AhirbS. 6.14, 8.45; LakṣmīT. 2. 54.
19. The Pāñcarātrins themselves explain the name as "carrying the whole universe like a dark spot under the skin" (Schrader, o. c., p. 37).
20. ViṣvaksenaS. (Tattvatraya ed.), p. 125 ff. ; AhirbS. 53. 53, 55. 42.
21. Schrader, o. c., p. 38.
22. For details see Schrader, o. c., p. 80, 82.
23. See Schrader, o. c., p. 39.
24. See Schrader, o. c., p. 48 (mentioning also another view).
25. Schrader, o. c., p. 50 ; for his creative activity see also p. 63.
26. Schrader, o. c., p. 141.
27. It is my intention to deal with this point in another publication. It may however be observed that the six spokes of the "Wheel of the Seasons" and the thousand spokes of the wheel holding the Highest Heaven are perfectly intelligible (thousand is already in the ŚatB. 13. 1. 3. 1 supposed to "symbolize" the heavenly world and elsewhere it is said to be everything : ŚatB. 4. 6. 1. 15 etc.).

28. Cf. VāyuP. 97. 1 f. (=BḍP. 2. 72. 1 f.) *manuṣyaṇṣṭhātīn devān.../saṁhakarṣaṇo.../aniruddhaśca...*; cf. especially J. N. Banerjea, in J. Ind. Soc. Or. Art, 1941, p. 65 ff. (and also D. R. Patil, Cultural history from the Vāyu Purāṇa, Poona 1946, p. 66).
29. I refer to the suppositions ventured by R. P. Chanda, Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava tradition, Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 5 and S. Chattopadhyaya, The evolution of theistic sects in India, Calcutta 1962, p. 32 f. : 85 ff. (for the worship of Vāsudeva's relations). For the "transformation of Bhāgavatism into the Pāñcarātra" see also J. N. Banerjea, Paurāṇic and tāntric religion, Calcutta 1966, p. 40 f. : for the 'legendary' Aniruddha of the purāṇic tradition, V.R.Ramachandra Dikshitar, Purāṇic Index, I, Madras 1951, p. 54 f. ; W. Ruben, Krishna, Istanbul 1943, Index p. 321 ; for some suggestions in connection with historical relations, religious backgrounds etc. V. M. Apte, in R. C. Majumdar—A. D. Pusalker, The history and culture of the Indian people, II, Bombay 1953, p. 447 ff.
30. Schrader, o. c., p. 40.
31. With some of these names I am dealing in other articles.
32. Elsewhere (MatsyaP. 47. 23) the explanation is *aniruddho raṇe' ruddhaḥ*, but also *raṇe kruddhaḥ* (ViṣṇuP. 5. 28. 7).
33. See Varāhamihira, Brhatsanhitā. 58 (57), 36 and compare J. N. Banerjea, The development of Hindu Iconography, Calcutta 1956, p. 306. Is it of any interest to add that according to the same author, o. c., p. 104, Aniruddha's characteristic dhvaja animal is the white antelope (*ṛṣya-*), which in the VājS. 24, 27 and 37 is said to belong to the Vasus and the Gandharvas ?

ON THE METRICS OF CĀṆAKYA'S SENTENTIOUS VERSES

L. Sternbach

U. S. A.

1. The reconstructed text of Cāṇakya's sententious verses as published in Vol. II, parts II and III of L. Sternbach's Cāṇakya Nīti-Text Tradition (Cāṇakya-nīti-śākhāsampradāya, Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, Vol. 29) was composed in a limited number of metres, most of which can be immediately recognised by the reader. In addition to *anuṣṭubh-s*, the main metre used in Cāṇakya's stanzas, twenty-six different metres were used; some of the metres are very common among Sanskrit poets, such as the Upajāti, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Vasantatilakā, Āryā or Śikhariṇī, but some were rarely used by them, such as the Dodhaka, Toṭaka, Nardāṭaka, etc.

The greatest variation of metres appears in the longest collection of Cāṇakya's verses, i. e. the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version (CR) and individual texts of this version; also a number of different metres appears in the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version (CV), but rarely did verses in metres other than *anuṣṭubh-s* appear in the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṁgraha (CS), Laghu Cāṇakya (CL), Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra (CN) and Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* (Cv) versions and in the individual texts of these versions¹, although e. g. the Dodhaka metre appears exclusively in two individual texts of the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version.

2. Very interesting and seldom found in other poetical texts is the phenomenon of the change of metres in different texts of the same verses.

And so, verse No. 278 in the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version is composed in an eleven syllabic Upajāti metre (Upendravajrā and Indravajrā) while in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version the same verse is composed in a twelve syllabic Upajāti metre (Vamśastha and Indravamśa); the first version contains the six syllabic निष्ठुरभाषिणम् and the four syllabic चक्रपाणिम् while the second version contains the seven syllabic निष्ठुरवाक्यभाषिणम् and the five syllabic चक्रधारिणम् respectively.

Similarly verse No. 1080 was composed in some texts of the same version (but in different versions) in the eleven syllabic Upendravajrā metre,

while in others in the twelve syllabic Vamśastha metre; e. g. instead of using the two syllabic दाता the three syllabic दातृता was used, or instead of the five syllabic कुबुद्धिरेषा (or ° सा) the six syllabic कुबुद्धिरेव सा were used.

In verse No. 158 the Cāṇakya verse is composed in the eleven syllabic Śālinī metre, but some MSS of the same version, viz. CRBh I and CRB, tried to change it into a seldom used twelve syllabic Vaiśvadevī metre; e.g. instead of using the four syllabic कुर्यात् च used the five syllabic कुर्यादाहारं; or instead of the two syllabic धार्यास् used the three syllabic संधार्यास्; or instead of the two syllabic ज्ञेयं used the three syllabic ज्ञातव्यं.

In verse No. 129 the Cāṇakya verse is composed in the 12/13 syllabic Puṣpitaṅgrā metre while the same stanza in a Subhāṣita-saṁgraha was changed to a fifteen syllabic Mālinī metre.

Of lesser interest is the change of metre from the eleven syllabic Indravajrā metre into an eleven syllabic Upajāti metre, or the change from the twelve syllabic Vamśastha or Indravamśa metres into a twelve syllabic Upajāti metre, since this change consists only in a change of the first syllable from a short to a long, or vice versa; e.g. in verse No. 805 the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* text has श्रुतेन शीलेन कुलेन कर्मणा (adopted as the basic text), the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra text has कुलेन शीलेन गुरोर्न कर्मणा, while the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* text has त्यागेन शीलेन गुरोर्न कर्मणा.

A similar phenomenon occurs in verse No. 701, which was composed in Indravajrā metre, whilst its variant in verse No. 697 was composed in an eleven syllabic Upajāti metre, or in verse No. 1968 which was composed in the Indravamśa metre, whilst its variant in verse No. 1406 was composed in the twelve syllabic Upajāti metre.

3. A more detailed analysis of the different metres used in the text of the Cāṇakya-nīti-śākhā-sampradāya follows :

1. Saṁvṛtta

A. Metres with 8 syllables in a quarter

1. Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) ×××× ◡ — — × / ×××× ◡ — ◡ ×
×××× ◡ — — × / ×××× ◡ — ◡ ×

Śloka (anuṣṭubh) is the chief epic metre of later times; it was very frequently used by Sanskrit poets.

The bulk of the verses found in the collection of Cāṇakya's stanzas and in the reconstructed text of Cāṇakya's verses is composed in *ślokas*. Out of 2,215 stanzas quoted in the text, 374 stanzas or nearly 17 per cent are quoted in metres other than *ślokas*; that means that 1841 Cāṇakya's verses were composed in *ślokas*.

Ślokas which contain 32 *akṣara-s* are divided into four quarters of 8 syllables each. That seems to be the only rule which is really observed in the composition of this metre. Although, according to the rules of Sanskrit metric, the fifth syllable of each quarter should be short, the sixth long and the seventh alternatively long and short, these rules are not consequently observed by Sanskrit poets². Th. Benfey, O. Boehtlingk, J. Gildemeister, H. Oldenberg and many others who tried to find a general rule for the correct composition of the *śloka* had also noticed a great variation in deviations from the general rule; therefore it may be assumed that although, in principle, the first four syllables in all the four quarters are always facultative (marked above ×) and the fifth, sixth, and seventh syllables in the first and third quarters are short (◡), long (—) and long, while the fifth, sixth and seventh syllables in the second and fourth quarters are short, long and short, variations from this rule are admissible and occur often.

In Cāṇakya's verses variations from the rule given above were noticed in not less than 218 cases (85 in part I, 123 in part II; 10 in Part III). However, in several cases these deviations could have been corrected in the reconstructed text using as a model other texts of Sanskrit literature in which the same verse occurred.

Deviations from the general rule were observed in Nos. 11, 36, 45, 59, 64, 140, 154, 188, 196, 198, 201, 225, 235, 252, 254, 286, 318, 322, 337, 342, 368, 380, 388, 404, 417, 435, 436, 437, 454, 461, 478, 481, 483, 494, 495, 498, 513, 515, 590, 605, 620, 621, 622, 624, 630, 635, 638, 648, 656, 676, 685, 708, 724, 755, 760, 777, 792, 794, 796, 807, 820, 823, 846, 851, 864, 867, 881, 895, 899, 921, 922, 938, 956, 971, 986, 1005, 1018, 1036, 1042, 1046, 1047, 1057, 1060, 1084, 1088, 1131, 1153, 1156, 1160, 1163, 1168, 1179, 1181, 1196, 1198, 1201, 1211, 1222, 1241, 1247, 1252, 1278, 1280, 1289, 1290, 1308, 1345, 1347, 1348, 1361, 1375, 1397, 1400, 1421, 1422, 1451, 1466, 1468, 1472, 1480, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1501, 1505, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1514, 1522, 1524, 1547, 1551, 1555, 1569, 1574, 1589, 1593, 1599, 1602, 1622, 1626, 1635A, 1664, 1685, 1686, 1689, 1693, 1694, 1697, 1714, 1721, 1722, 1744, 1745, 1749, 1752, 1755, 1759, 1760A,

1761, 1769, 1771, 1778, 1784, 1795, 1803, 1804, 1821, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1833, 1834, 1841, 1854, 1860, 1886, 1891, 1894, 1896, 1900, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907A, 1922, 1924, 1931, 1944, 1949, 1973, 1996A, 2000, 2016, 2020, 2021, 2035, 2036, 2039, 2045, 2050, 2061, 2065, 2071, 2091, 2115, 2129, 2143, 2149, 2169, 2179, 2201, 2212, 2215 and 2219.

B. Metres with 11 syllables in a quarter

2. *Indravajrā metre* — — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪

This metre is very often used by Sanskrit poets; it appears often together with the Upendravajrā verses, forming the Upajāti metre. It is very seldom corrupt.

This metre occurred among Cāṇakya's verses twenty-five times (15 times in part I and 10 times in part II).

Part I: Nos. 88, 156, 256, 334, 390, 407, 409, 453, 546, 701, 918, 1013, 1061, 1077 and 1106.

Part II: Nos. 1372, 1465, 1487, 1533, 1704, 1816, 1862A, 1991, 2055 and 2079.

Most times the Indravajrā metre occurred in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version (10 plus 5 times) and the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornator* version (6 times); in some cases this metre occurred in verses found both in the CR and CV versions.

In one case a variant of the same stanza was composed in an eleven syllabic Upajāti metre (Nos. 697 and 701).

Errors in the metre among Cāṇakya's verses occurred seldom, i. e. once only (No. 1372); different texts of the same verse contain some errors (e.g., Nos. 88, 390) but could have been corrected in the reconstructed text.

3. *Upendravajrā metre* ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪

This metre is very often used by Sanskrit poets; it appears often together with the Indravajrā verses, forming the Upajāti metre. It is seldom corrupt.

This metre occurred among Cāṇakya's verses seven times (twice in part I, four times in part II and once in part III).

METRICS OF CĀṆAKYA'S VERSES

77

Part I : Nos. 279 and 905.

Part II : Nos. 1254, 1590, 1912 and 1916.

Part III : Nos. 2174A (where only a fragment of the verse is quoted).

This metre was in some quarters mixed with the Vamśastha metre (No. 1080) and was changed completely to a Vamśastha verse (see para 2 above).

No errors in this metre were noted.

4. *Eleven syllabic Upajāti metre*, — — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ mixed with
∪ — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪

This metre is a mixture of the Indravajrā and Upendravajrā lines; in this metre some lines are composed in the Indravajrā and some others in the Upendravajrā metre; this metre is very often used by Sanskrit poets.

The eleven syllabic Upajāti metre occurred often among Cāṇakya's verses, viz. 92 times (48 times in part I; 40 times in part II; and 4 times in part III)³.

Part I : Nos. 31, 37, 47, 89, 152, 226, 230, 249, 277, 278, 287, 307, 310, 338, 339, 340, 346, 410, 424, 429, 445, 446, 465, 504, 542, 548, 563, 564, 567, 569, 570, 618, 663, 696, 697, 715, 739, 787, 793, 801, 855, 856, 897, 900, 978, 987, 1098 and 1103.

Part II : Nos. 1141, 1142, 1199, 1204, 1249, 1294, 1304, 1306, 1417, 1426, 1443, 1476, 1525, 1528, 1529, 1541, 1565, 1588, 1648, 1655, 1659, 1682, 1691, 1713, 1743, 1758, 1760, 1777, 1780, 1802, 1819, 1848, 1868, 1913, 1942, 1959, 2000, 2009, 2037, and 2044.

Part III : Nos. 2108, 2174, 2183 A, 2231, and 2233.

Most times this metre was found in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra (37 plus 25 plus 1) and the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* versions (12 times); in some cases this metre occurred in verses found both in the CR and CV versions. In one case a variant of the same verse was composed in Indravajrā (Nos. 679 and 701).

Errors in the metre occurred seldom (Nos. 340, 429 and 2037) and in one case could have been corrected using as a model other texts of Sanskrit literature in which the same verse occurs (No. 2037); different Cāṇakya's texts of the same verse contained some errors (Nos. 1098 and 1819) but could have been corrected in the text reconstructed; however,

some texts of Sanskrit literature which are identical with the Cāṇakya's text contain some errors in their metre (No. 1868).

In one case (No. 278) the same verse in the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version was composed in a verse of eleven syllables in a quarter, while in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version it was composed in a verse of twelve syllables in a quarter (see para 2 above).

5. *Dodhaka metre* — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — —

This metre was rarely used by Sanskrit poets.

Among Cāṇakya's verses it appeared only once in two individual texts of the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version (No. 1734). It also appears in the Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā and some Subhāṣita-saṃgrahas.

No errors in this metre in the Cāṇakya verse were noted.

6. *Rathoddhatā metre* — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —

Originally this metre contained a caesura after the fourth *akṣara* but later authors omitted it. This metre was not very often used by Sanskrit poets.

This metre occurred among Cāṇakya's verses five times. In part I three times (Nos. 336, 821 and 1015); in part II once (No. 1423; this verse is a variant of verse No. 336 also composed in the same metre); and in part III once (No. 2125). It appeared most frequently in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version and individual texts of this version (three times). None of these verses have a caesura after the fourth *akṣara*.

With the exception of one verse (No. 2125) no errors in this metre were noted among Cāṇakya's verses. In No. 2125 the text, as it appears in the MS, although partly corrupt, has a correct metre.

7. *Śālinī metre* — — — — / — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪

This metre, although rarely used by Sanskrit poets, due to the preponderance of long syllables, is noble and dignified in tone.

Among Cāṇakya's verses it occurred six times. In part I three times (Nos. 158, 371 and 950) and in part II three times (No. 1187, 1349 and 1957).

METRICS OF CĀṆAKYA'S VERSES

79

Most times the Śālinī metre was found in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version and in individual texts of this version (2 plus 1 plus 1 in the Garuḍa-purāṇa (GP) only).

The metre in all the Cāṇakya's verses is correct, but in the GP text (No. 1187) is corrupt in the fourth quarter, although the caesura is upheld.

In one case (No. 158) some MSS of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, viz. CRBh I and CRB, tried to change this eleven syllabic verse into a twelve syllabic metre, viz., the Vaiśvadevī metre (but only in the second, third and fourth quarters); this verse was reconstructed in correct Śālinī metre.

8. *Svāgatā metre* — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡

This metre is of old origin, it was not very often used by Sanskrit poets. Among Cāṇakya's verses it occurred only twice, viz. in part I once (No. 706) and in part II once (No. 2207). The latter verse is in *d* incomplete; it contains only ten *akṣaras*. Since it appears in one MS only it could not have been reconstructed in correct metre.

C. Metres with 12 syllables in a quarter

9. *Vaiśvadevī metre* ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡

This metre, very often used by Sanskrit poets, appears frequently together with the Indravaiśvadevī verses, forming the twelve syllabic Upajāti metre.

Among Cāṇakya's verses the Vaiśvadevī metre occurred quite often, viz. 23 times (16 times in part I and 7 times in part II).

Part I: No. 2, 175, 283, 288, 367, 438, 524, 805, 811, 898, 903, 904, 908, 952, 991 and 1080.

Part II: No. 1380, 1393, 1440, 1591, 1654, 1717 and 2040.

Most times this metre was found in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version (11 plus 3 times); in some cases this metre occurred in verses found both in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra and the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* versions. In one case the same verse (No. 805) was composed in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra and the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* versions in the Vaiśvadevī metre, while in the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version in the twelve syllabic Upajāti metre. In another case a verse (No. 1080) was originally composed in the first two quarters (and in

some cases also in the fourth quarter⁴) in the Upendravajrā metre, but in the reconstruction was changed to the Varṇasastha metre.

Errors in this metre occurred seldom, viz. in No. 1080 and 1654; in the latter case they could have been corrected in the reconstruction, since the metre in other texts of the Cāṇakya's verse was correct; however, some verses of Sanskrit literature, which are identical with the Cāṇakya text contain some errors in their metre (No. 952).

10. *Indravamśa metre* — — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪

This metre, often used by Sanskrit poets, appears most often together with the Varṇasastha metre, forming the twelve syllabic Upajāti metre.

As a separate metre it occurred among Cāṇakya's verses very seldom, viz. once only (No. 1968) in an individual text of the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version. A similar verse (No. 1406) was composed in the twelve syllabic Upajāti metre.

No errors in this metre among Cāṇakya's verses were noted.

11. *Twelve syllabic Upajāti metre* ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪
mixed with — — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪

This metre is a mixture of Varṇasastha and Indravamśa lines; in this metre some are composed in Varṇasastha, some others in Indravamśa metre. It was very often used by Sanskrit poets. However, it occurred very seldom among Cāṇakya's verses, viz. three times: twice in part I (Nos. 25 and 278) and once in part II (No. 1506).

Verse No. 278 was composed in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version in twelve syllables to a quarter, while in the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version it was composed in eleven syllables (see above para 2).

No errors in this metre among Cāṇakya's verses were noted.

12. *Toṭaka metre* ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —

This metre, which is very regular in tone (it is composed of three anapaests) was not frequently used by Sanskrit poets.

The Toṭaka occurred among Cāṇakya's verses only once (No. 1932) and that only in one individual text of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version.

METRICS OF CĀṆAKYA'S VERSES

81

No errors in this metre in the Cāṇakya verse were noted.

13. *Drutavilambita metre* ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪

This metre was not frequently used by Sanskrit poets. Among Cāṇakya's verses it occurred only seven times (4 times in part I and 3 times in part II).

Part I: Nos. 95, 232, 912 and 946.

Part II: Nos. 1128, 1151 and 1977.

The Drutavilambita metre occurred in all seven cases in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version or in individual texts of this version.

No errors in this metre among Cāṇakya's verses were noted.

D. *Metres with 13 syllables in a quarter*

14. *Praharṣiṇī metre* — — — / ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪

The Praharṣiṇī metre occurred among Cāṇakya's verses only once and that in the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version (No. 1033); the same verse is also found in several Subhāṣita-saṁgrahas; in the Saduktikarṇā-mṛta it was ascribed to Prabhākaramitra.

No errors in this metre in the Cāṇakya's verse were noted.

E. *Metres with 14 syllables in a quarter*

15. *Vasantatilakā metre* — — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪

This metre is one of the metres of medium length which was most frequently used by Sanskrit poets; it was particularly often used by Kālidāsa.

The Vasantatilakā metre occurred among Cāṇakya's verses often, viz. 47 times (23 times in part I; 22 times in part II; and twice in part III).

Part I: Nos. 38, 92, 128, 270, 276, 298, 300, 306, 377, 450, 479, 493, 521, 616, 617, 619, 774, 795, 945, 966, 968, 969 and 1108.

Part II: Nos. 1184, 1210, 1234, 1271, 1293, 1353, 1366, 1370, 1413, 1575, 1577, 1723, 1785, 1794, 1859, 1864, 1865, 1870, 1883, 1903, 1981 and 2042.

Part III: Nos. 2119A and 2121.

Most times the Vasantatilakā verses occurred in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version and in individual texts of this version (19 plus 10 plus 1). Many Cāṇakya's verses composed in this metre occur also in other texts of Sanskrit literature.

Errors in this metre among Cāṇakya's verses occurred seldom; nevertheless, different texts of the same verses contained some errors; they could have been corrected in the reconstructed text (Nos. 493 and 1370); however, some verses of Sanskrit literature, which are identical with the Cāṇakya text, contain some errors in their metre (e. g. No. 372).

F. Metres with 15 syllables in a quarter

16. *Mālinī metre* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — / — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡

This metre is also one of the metres of medium length which was most frequently used by Sanskrit poets, but among Cāṇakya's verses it occurred only 8 times; in part I four times (Nos. 81, 750, 815 and 985) and in part II four times (Nos. 1266, 1586, 1607 and 2096). It appeared most frequently in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version or in individual texts of this version (6 times). In most cases these verses appeared also in primary sources of Sanskrit literature and in Subhāṣita-saṁgrahas.

In one case (No. 1266) the metre is imperfect in the Cāṇakya text, while it is correct in other primary sources, (Bhartṛhari's Śatakas and the Southern recension of the Vikramacarita), but since it appeared in one MS of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version only, its metre could not have been corrected in the reconstructed text; in another case, where a Cāṇakya verse occurred in an individual text of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version only (No. 2096), the metre is correct but the rule of caesura was not observed.

G. Metres with 17 syllables in a quarter

17. *Nardāṭaka metre* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ —

This metre was seldom used by Sanskrit poets. Among Cāṇakya's verses, the Nardāṭaka metre appeared only once in an individual text of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, viz. No. 2192. However, this metre in this particular stanza is corrupt in *a*.

METRICS OF CĀṆAKYA'S VERSES

83

18. *Prthvī metre* ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — / ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ ∪

This metre, due to its symetry and caesura after the eighth syllable, is very attractive; Sanskrit poets used it mostly to describe heroic sentiments; it was, however, sparingly used by them.

The *Prthvī* metre occurred among Cāṇakya's verses only once in some individual texts of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version (No. 1182). The same verse occurs also in the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitopadeśa*, *Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s*, *Alaṃkāras* and *Śubhāṣita-saṃgrahas*.

No errors in this metre in the Cāṇakya verse were noted.

19. *Mandākrānta metre* — — — — / ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — / — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪

The *Mandākrāntā* metre is one of the most symmetric metres, but because of its two caesurae, after the fourth and after the tenth syllables, is quite difficult.

It occurred among Cāṇakya's verses five times; in part I twice (Nos. 246 and 819) and in part II three times (Nos. 1513, 1939 and 1988). In all cases the verses are well-known; they also appear in *Śubhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and in primary sources of Sanskrit literature.

The *Mandākrāntā* metre occurred mostly among verses of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version or in individual texts of this version (3 times).

Despite the difficulty of this metre no errors in this metre were noted among Cāṇakya's verses.

20. *Śikhariṇī metre* ∪ — — — — / ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪

The *Śikhariṇī* metre was used quite often by Sanskrit poets. Due to its syllable arrangements Sanskrit poets used it mostly for conveying pathos.

The *Śikhariṇī* metre occurred among Cāṇakya's verses 17 times (6 times in part I and 11 times in part II).

Part I : Nos. 53, 311, 556, 643, 909 and 943.

Part II : Nos. 1135, 1212, 1279, 1303, 1396, 1433, 1435, 1600, 1766, 1999 and 2012.

With one exception, when a Śikhariṇī verse was found in an individual text of the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version (No. 1279), in all the other cases it occurred in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version or individual text of this version. In some cases these verses are also found in other primary sources of Sanskrit literature, e. g. among Bhartṛhari's Śatakas (No. 311, 556, 1303, 1396 and 1766).

Despite the difficulty of this metre (caesura after sixth syllable) no errors in the metre among Cāṇakya's verses were noted, though in some different texts of the same verse errors occurred (e. g. No. 1396); they could have been corrected in the reconstructed text.

21. *Hariṇī metre* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | — — — — | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

This metre, being a symetric metre with the first caesura after the sixth and the second caesura after the tenth syllable, and having a sad but sweet melody when sung in tune, was used often by some Sanskrit poets, while seldom by others.

The Hariṇī metre occurred among Cāṇakya's verses only once in part I (No. 18); it occurred in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version.

No errors in this metre in the Cāṇakya verse were noted.

H. Metres with 19 syllables in a quarter

22. *Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre*. — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡

This metre is one of the metres of great length which was most frequently used by Sanskrit poets; its length suits it particularly for descriptive purposes; it is particularly a metre of softer sentiments and nature's normal moods.

The Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre occurred among Cāṇakya's verses quite often, viz. 77 times (42 times in part I; and 35 times in part II).

Part I : Nos. 80, 126, 148, 165, 170, 190, 247, 248, 261, 271, 305, 327, 333, 389, 402, 416, 444, 488, 492, 497, 511, 520, 547, 576, 633, 651, 667, 682, 727, 730, 851, 883, 894, 929, 949, 958, 974, 1068, 1101, 1102, 1114, and 1116.

Part II : Nos. 1185, 1218, 1242, 1292, 1297, 1357, 1371, 1457, 1502, 1578, 1658, 1704, 1741, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1788, 1789, 1800, 1805A, 1855, 1875, 1889, 1893, 1897, 1909, 1935, 1950, 1965, 1967, 1987, 2007, 2083, 2095 and 2100.

METRICS OF CĀṆAKYA'S VERSES

Most time this metre occurred in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version (29 plus 25 times) and in the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version (12 times); in some cases the CR verses occurred also in the CV version.

Many verses which occurred in the Cāṇakya text occurred also in other sources of Sanskrit literature, in particular in Bhartṛhari's Śatakas (21 times) and in the *kathā* literature. As long as the relationship of the Cāṇakya's stanzas to the Bhartṛhari's Śatakas, with regard to their originality, is not solved, it is impossible to state with certainty whether these verses originated with Bhartṛhari or with Cāṇakya, or whether both were not borrowed from the floating mass of oral tradition.

Despite the length and difficulty of this metre (caesura after the twelfth syllable) no errors in the metre were noted among Cāṇakya's verses. However, some verses of Sanskrit literature, which are identical with Cāṇakya's text, contain some errors in their metres (e. g. No. 958).

1. Metres with 21 syllables in a quarter

23. *Sragdharā metre* — — — — ◡ — — / ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — / — ◡ — — — ◡ — —

The Sragdharā metre, due to its length, is best suited for descriptive puposes; it was used by Sanskrit poets chiefly in dramas of heroic and kindred sentiments and in invocations.

The Sragdharā metre occurred among Cāṇakya's verses 8 times; 5 times in part I (Nos. 221, 604, 666, 857 and 970); twice in part II (Nos. 1643 and 2033) and once in part III (Nos. 2128; fragment).

Most times the Sragdharā metre occurred in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version and in individual texts of this version (3, plus 1, plus 1, plus Garuḍa-purāṇa) and in the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version (twice).

The metres were correct among all Cāṇakya's verses, but the casurae were not always observed (e. g. Nos. 970, 2033 and 2128).

II Mātrāvṛtta

J. Metres regulated by the number of syllabic instants

24. *Āryā metre*

$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} // \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$
 $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} // \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$

This metre is divided into feet, each containing four syllabic instants, counting a prosodically short syllable as one and a long syllable as two instants; the first quarter contains 3 feet (or 12 *mātrās*); the second contains four and a half feet (or 18 *mātrās*); the third contains 3 feet (or 12 *mātrās*); and the fourth contains three and a half feet with an extra short syllable after the second foot (or 15 *mātrā-s*).

The Āryā metre, being a *jāti*, an irregular metre, regulated by the number of syllabic instants in each quarter and not by syllables, is a very complicated metre, most favourite with some Sanskrit poets in particular with Kālidāsa; it is a difficult metre and often errors were made in composing verses in this particular metre.

There are many variations of the Āryā metre. One of the variations is the Gīti-āryā metre which contains in the first and third quarters 12 *mātrā-s* (3 feet) while the second and fourth quarters contain 18 *mātrā-s* each (in some cases only 17 *mātrā-s*). This metre (with 17 *mātrā-s* in the fourth quarter) occurred once among Cāṇakya's verses, viz. in no. 1172.

The Āryā metre occurred among Cāṇakya's verses 33 times (12 times in part I; 20 times in part II; and once in part III).

Part I : Nos. 74, 233, 361, 408, 448, 470, 471, 813, 1063, 1065, 1074, and 1090,

Part II : Nos. 1132, 1150, 1172, 1197, 1233, 1255, 1299, 1301, 1346, 1365, 1469, 1494, 1543, 1680, 1725, 1832, 1873, 1890, 2068 and 2092.

Part III : No. 2197.

Most times the Āryā metre occurred in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version (10 plus 4 times) and individual texts of the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version (11 times). Some errors in this metre among Cāṇakya's verses could have been corrected, viz. in verses Nos. 1065, 1132, 1233, 1299, 1301, 1494, 1725 and 1873; they were corrected by using as a model other texts of Sanskrit literature in which the same verses occur. Different Cāṇakya's texts of the same verse contained in some cases errors (e. g. Nos. 408, 471, 813, 1063 and 1090) but could have been corrected in the reconstructed text of Cāṇakya-maxims; however, some verses of Sanskrit literature, which are identical with the Cāṇakya's text, contain some errors in their metre (Nos. 1150 and 1197).

METRICS OF CĀṆAKYA'S VERSES

87

25. *Vaitāliya metre*

$\times \times \times \times \times - \cup - \cup - / \times \times \times \times \times \times \times - \cup - \cup -$ usually
 $\cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - / - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup -$

The Vaitāliya metre is an irregular metre. The first and third quarters contain 14 *mātrās* and the second and fourth 16 *mātrā-s*, counting two *mātrās* as a long syllable. The first and the third quarters must contain six *mātrā-s* followed by three long syllables divided by two short syllables ($-\cup-\cup-$); the second and fourth quarters must contain eight *mātrā-s* followed also by three long syllables divided by two short syllables ($-\cup-\cup-$); these two latter quarters cannot be composed exclusively of all short or all long syllables.

The Vaitāliya is a difficult metre; it is of early origin.

This metre occurred among Cāṇakya's verses seldom, viz. three times; once in part I (No. 314); once in part II (No. 2070); and once in part III (No. 2194).

III. *Ardhasamvṛtta*K. *Metres with 12 and 13 syllables in a quarter*

26. *Puṣpitāgrā metre* $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup - \cup - \cup - \underline{\cup} //$
 $\cup \cup \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \underline{\cup}$

This metre contains different numbers of syllables in different quarters. In the first and third quarters it contains 12 syllables and in the second and fourth quarters 13 syllables (in these latter quarters a long syllable is added after the fourth syllable).

The Puṣpitāgrā metre occurred only three times among Cāṇakya's verses; twice in Part I (Nos. 123 and 329) and once in part II (No. 1681). It occurs exclusively in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version.

The Puṣpitāgrā metre, being irregular, is a difficult metre; consequently several errors were noted in this metre among Cāṇakya's verses; particularly one verse (No. 1681) is corrupt in *b* and *c*. In the other two instances (Nos. 123 and 329) different texts of the same Cāṇakya verse contain some errors but the metre could have been corrected in the reconstructed text. Some verses of Sanskrit literature (Pāṇcatantra, Hitopadeśa

and Gāruḍa-purāṇa), which are identical with the Cāṇakya text, contain some errors in their metre (No. 123). In one case (No. 123) the Bahudarśana changed this verse into a Mālinī metre (see para 2 above).

5. The rules of metric play a very important role in the reconstruction of Sanskrit verses. Very often different readings in more than one MS of the same version and, even to a great extent, different readings in more than one version of the same text can be of great help for the proper reconstruction of a particular verse. Sanskrit poets very seldom made mistakes in the metre of their verses; in the reconstruction of the Cāṇakya's verses, which was usually based on more than one MS, particular attention was paid to the rules of metrics. Very often verses appearing in different MSS with a corrupt or a proper metre had to be reconstructed so as to comply with the rules of metrics.

References

1. The individual texts of the six main versions is included in Vol. II, part III. Vol II contains in alphabetical order the text of the verses included in the six main versions. Vol. II, part III contains Cāṇakya's verses included in individual texts of the six main versions, the authenticity of which is doubtful (referred to below as part II). This volume also contains fragmentary and corrupt verses or verses difficult to reconstruct or incomprehensible (referred to below as part III).

For Abbreviations of Cāṇakya's texts see Abbreviations in L. Sternbach's Cāṇakya-nīti Text Tradition, Vol. I.1 (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, Vol. 27 pp. XIII-XXVI)

2. For instance, in the Hitopadeśa forty deviations from this scheme were noted by F. Johnson.
3. The numbers in *italics* denote first Upendravajrā and then Indravajrā quarters.
4. But with errors; in the Subhāṣita-ratnabhāṇḍāgāra and Subhāṣitaratnākara (Bombay 1872) it is also composed in the Upendravajrā metre.

देशिकदर्शने शरणागतिविधिः

सत्यव्रतसिंहः

लखनऊ

श्रीरामानुजदर्शनस्यैव समुपवृंहणमिदं यद्वि देशिकदर्शनमित्युच्यते । देशिकदर्शनमिति च श्रीमतो कवितार्किकसिंहस्य वेङ्कटनाथाभिधानस्य वेदान्तदेशिकस्य यद्दर्शनं तस्यैव संक्षिप्तमभिधानं सरलमभिज्ञापनञ्च । एतद्दि दर्शने शरणागतिर्वेदवित्सम्भता वेदैरेव विधीयमाना साध्यते । 'तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन्' इत्यादिर्मन्त्रवर्णः परस्यै देवतायै प्रत्यगात्मरूपस्य हविषस्त्यागरूपं शरणवरणमपि क्रोडीकरोति । 'इन्द्राय इदं न मम' इत्यादिवत् 'भगवत एवाऽहमस्मि न ममे' ति रूपं प्रपदनमेव शरणवरणम् । भगवत्पारतन्त्र्यानुष्ठाननिष्ठा हि शरणागतिनिष्ठेति निगद्यते ।

'भूयिष्ठां ते नम उक्ति विधेम' इत्यादिवेदान्तवाक्यजातं शरणागतिमेव सर्वभूतान्तरात्मभूतब्रह्मदर्शनस्य परां काष्ठां प्रमाणयति । उपनिषत्सु मूर्धन्यभूता या खल्वीशोपनिषत् सा विशिष्टाद्वयब्रह्मस्वरूपस्यैव संदर्शनाय प्रवृत्तेत्युच्यते श्रीदेशिकैः स्वरचितस्येशोपनिषद्भाष्यस्योपोद्धाते—

‘ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वमित्यादि यदनूच्यते ।

शिष्यं प्रति गुरोरेतद्ब्रह्मविद्यानुशासनम् ॥’

अर्थात् येयमीशोपनिषत् सा ब्रह्मविद्यानुशासनम् । यच्चात्र ब्रह्मविद्यानुशासनम् तत् चिदचिच्छरीरिणः सर्वभूतान्तरात्मनः परस्य ब्रह्मणः सिद्धेरेव शंसनम् । यद्वि परब्रह्मणः सिद्धिशंसनम् तत् शरणागतिसाधनानुशासनमेव । इदमेव ब्रह्मवेदनं यत् परब्रह्मणि भगवति परमेश्वरे स्वात्मसमर्पणमिति शरणवरणमिति वेति ।

एवं 'तत्त्वमसी' ति यद् विशिष्टाद्वयब्रह्मात्मकं प्रज्ञानघनं परतत्त्वं साध्यते तत्त्वदशिभिः मुमुक्षुभिस्तद् वस्तुतः 'यत्ते रूपं कल्याणतमं तत्ते पश्यामि' ।

‘योऽसावसौ पुरुषः सोऽहमस्मि ।’

इतीशोपनिषन्मन्त्रार्थ एव साक्षात्क्रियते । सावूक्तं श्रीदेशिकैरीशोपनिषदः षोडशतमस्यास्य मन्त्रस्य व्याख्यानावसरे—

पुरुषः—पूर्णत्वपूर्वसत्त्वादिगुणकः आदित्यवर्णविग्रहविशिष्टः सर्ववेदपठितानन्यपर-
पुरुषसूक्तादिप्रसिद्धो महापुरुषः । सोऽहमस्मि इत्यहम् शब्दोऽत्र जीवद्वारा तदन्तरात्म-
पर्यन्तः । अत एवास्मीत्यपि प्रत्यग्रूपस्वविशिष्टे परमात्मनि विश्राम्यति । 'अस्मद्युत्तम'
(पाणिनि १।४।१०७) इत्येतावदेव द्यनुशिष्टम् । न पुनरस्मच्छब्दस्य प्रत्यगात्मद्वारा परमात्म-
पर्यन्ततायामुत्तमनिवृत्तिः । एवं 'तत्त्वमसी' त्यादिषु असिशब्दो निर्वाह्यः । तत्रापि 'युष्मद्युप-
पदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः' (पाणिनि १।४।१०५) इत्येतावदेव हि स्मर्यते । न
तु युष्मच्छब्दस्य स्वाभिमुखचेतनद्वारा तदन्तर्यामिपर्यन्तत्वे मध्यमनिवृत्तिः । लोके तु 'अहं
त्वमस्मि', 'त्वमहमसि' इत्याद्युपचारेषूद्देश्यानुसारेण मध्यमोत्तमयोर्व्यवस्था । तद्वदत्रापि
व्यवस्थोपपद्यते ।..... ये पुनः 'तत्त्वमसि' 'सोऽहमस्मी' त्यादिषु कार्यकारणोपाध्याकार-
विधूननेन निर्विशेषस्वरूपैक्यं वाक्यवेद्यमाहुः, तेषामसिवदस्मिरपि खण्डकः ।

अर्थात् निर्विशेषस्वरूपैक्यमेव यदि 'तत्त्वमसी' ति श्रुतिविभावितं तत्त्वं तदा भक्तिरेव
नोदेति प्रागेव शरणागतेः । तत्त्वस्य भगवत्त्वं एवं दृष्टे भक्तिः स्फुरति; शरणागतिश्च
पुष्यति । तत्त्वमिदं परवासुदेवात्मकं परमशिवात्मकञ्च । इदमेव परमं प्रापकम् । न चान्यत्
किञ्चित् तत्प्रापकं श्रूयते । अत इदमेव भगवद्रूपं परतत्त्वं मम सकलः पुरुषार्थवर्ग इति
भावयन् एव भक्तः शरणागतिं भावयति । 'धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे' अनयैव शरणब्रज्यया ब्रजन्
'पार्थो धनुर्धरः' अर्जुनः 'श्रियं विजयं भूतिं च' संप्राप्तवान् ।

भक्तौ भवतु नाम तत्तद्धर्मन्तरङ्गता, शरणागतिस्तु स्वत एव भगवत्प्रसादनविशेषः ।
शरणागत एव भगवन्तमेवं प्रार्थयितुं प्रभवति यथोक्तमीशोपनिषदः १७ तमे
मन्त्रे—

‘वायुरनिलममृतमथेदं भस्मान्तं शरीरम् ।

ओं क्रतो स्मर कृतं स्मर, क्रतो स्मर कृतं स्मर ॥’

कथमिति चेत् ? अत्र खलु श्रीदेशिकदर्शनरसिकैः 'वायुरनिलममृतम्' इति पदत्रयेण
प्रत्यगात्मतत्त्वं प्रत्यभिज्ञायते, प्रत्यभिज्ञाप्यते च । 'वायुरिदमात्मतत्त्वम्,' विद्यानुसारं कर्मा-
नुसारं वा यत्र तत्र सर्वत्र गन्तृत्वात् । 'अनिलमिदमात्मतत्त्वम्' निलयनरहितत्वात् क्वचिदपि
व्यवस्थितत्वाभावाच्च । अमृतमिदमात्मतत्त्वम्, अत्रियमाणेऽपि देहसन्ताने स्वयममृतत्वात् ।
'विजरो विमृत्युः विशोकः' इत्यादीनि वचनानि वस्तुतः अस्यैवात्मतत्त्वस्यामृतत्वमुशान्ति । यत्तु
क्षेत्रज्ञशरीरं तद्विनाशधर्मकमेव यथोक्तमत्रैव मन्त्रे—'अथेदं भस्मान्तं शरीरमिति' । एवंप्रकारेण
खलु चिदचिद्विवेके संवृत्ते सति, तत्प्रेरितारमौपनिषदं पुरुषं प्रति 'ओं क्रतो स्मर कृतं स्मर,
क्रतो स्मर कृतं स्मर' इत्यादिरूपा या भावना तस्या एव शरणागतिरिति नामान्तरम् ।
शरणागत एव भगवन्तं परशिवं परवासुदेवं श्रीनिवासं नारायणं परं ब्रह्म संबोधयितुं
शक्नुयात्—'हे क्रतो ! कृत्वात्मकपुरुष ! स्मर मां सानुग्रहया बुद्ध्या मां विषयीकुर्विति ।
'स्नेहपूर्णं मनसा यन्नः स्मरसि केशव' इत्युक्तमेवाभियुक्तैः । एवमेव 'कृतं स्मर' इत्यपि

देशिकदर्शने शरणागतिविधिः

६१

भावना भगवतः शरणागतिमेव पुष्पाति । यतो हि 'मत्कृतं यत् किञ्चिदनुकूलत्वमनुसन्धाय कृतज्ञस्त्वं मां रक्षे'ति भावः खल्वत्र तत्त्वतो भासते । अथवा 'एतावदन्तं त्वत्कृतमानुकूल्यं प्रति-सन्धाय त्वमेव शेषपूरणं कुर्वि'ति वा भावोऽत्र भाव्यते । 'कृतो स्मर कृतं स्मर' इत्यावृत्तिस्तु भगवच्छरणागतेर्गमनिकेव । भगवन्तं प्रति आनुकूल्याद्यनुस्मारणादौ यः त्वरातिशयः यत्रावृत्ते-रस्याः कश्चन आग्रहविशेषः, तत्सर्वं शरणागतिमेव प्रपत्याद्यपरपर्यायां मोक्षरूपां मोक्षफलाञ्च प्रसाधयति ।

सेयमीशोपनिषदभिनन्दिता शरणागतिर्वर्णचतुष्टयसाधारणी वैदिकैरेव विधिभिः प्राप्यते । द्रविडाम्नाये रागतोऽपि प्राप्तेयमिति त्वन्य एव कथाविस्तरः । लोके शरणागत-वत्सलत्वं कारुणिकानां स्वभाव इति सिद्धे सिद्धमेव कैमुतिकन्यायेनासारकारुण्यजलधेः भगवतः परमेश्वरस्य प्रपन्नसंरक्षणम् । अतोऽपि हेतोः प्रपदनविधिवाक्यान्तरमप्यनुमृत्य प्रपत्तिः स्वतन्त्रैव ब्रह्मविद्येति सिद्धम् ।

एवमेव 'ओमित्यात्मानं युञ्जीत' इत्यादौ य आत्मन्यासः प्रकरणादधिगतस्सोऽपि प्रपदतं वेदप्राप्तं वैधं चेति समर्थयन्नेव स्थितः ।

शरणागतेः प्रपदनस्य वा तत्तत्स्वतन्त्रविधिप्राप्तत्वं तत्तदर्थवादादिपरिकल्पितविधिभावं वा मन्वानेन श्रीदेशिकेन स्पष्टमेवोक्तं शरणागतिगद्यभाष्ये—

‘प्रपत्तेः क्वचिदप्येवं परापेक्षा न विद्यते ।

सा हि सर्वत्र सर्वेषां सर्वकामफलप्रदा ॥’

अथ च श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां स्वतन्त्रप्रपत्तिविधिपरोऽपि श्लोकः प्राप्यते—

‘सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज ।

अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥’ इति

अत्र हि भगवानेव स्वशेषभूतेन मया स्वात्मानं प्रीतंकारयतीति यदनुसन्धानं तदेव ज्ञानिनो भक्तस्याकिञ्चन्यानन्यगतित्वादिकं पुरस्करोति । कर्मयोग-ज्ञानयोग-भक्तियोग-प्रपत्तियोगाख्येषु पर्वचतुष्टयेषु वर्णाश्रमधर्मानुष्ठानस्य यदपरित्याज्यत्वं गीतोपनिषदा समु-न्मीलितं ततोऽपि शरणागतेर्विधिपुरस्कृतत्वमेव संसिद्धम् । अत्रैव 'मामेकं शरणं ब्रजे'-त्युपदिष्टं यथा युद्धाख्यस्य क्षात्रधर्मस्य सर्वावस्थाधामनुष्ठेयत्वं साधयति तथैव शरणागतेरपि सर्वावस्थाधामनुष्ठेयत्वमेव प्रमाणयति ।

भगवत्प्रवृत्तिविरोधिनी या स्वप्रवृत्तिस्तस्याः निवृत्तिरेव प्रपत्तिरिति यद्दर्शनं श्रीदेशिकदर्शनानुमतं तत् प्रपत्तिमार्गे विधिविगानमेव न सहते । यद्दर्शनं खल्वीश्वरमेव तादृशं दयालुसार्वभौममौपनिषदमभ्युपगच्छति, तत् प्रपत्तिमेव परां विद्यामुपासनां वा द्वैधीं साध-यतीति शम् ।

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THE LAW OF TORTS UNDER THE HINDU LEGAL SYSTEM AND THE LIABILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT THEREUNDER FOR WRONGS COMMITTED BY ITS SERVANTS

G. C. Sinha

LUCKNOW

Introductory

The present-day law in India relating to the liability of the Government for torts or civil wrongs is in a state of such a great uncertainty that the matter had to be referred on the initiative of the late President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, to the Law Commission for consideration and report. The Law Commission examined the matter in detail and after having made a great survey of the law on the subject in various countries recommended that legislation should be undertaken in India on the lines of the U. K. Crown Proceedings Act, 1947 for defining the liability of the Government in tort. The matter also went up for consideration before the Supreme Court, firstly, in the case of "The State of Rajasthan versus Musammat Vidyawati and another"¹ and thereafter in that of "Kasturi Lal Ralia Ram Jain versus The State of Uttar Pradesh"². In the latter case the Hon'ble Court expressed great dissatisfaction over the state of law on the subject and urged that the matter should be set right without delay by legislation as had been done by the United Kingdom by the Crown Proceedings Act, 1947³. The Central Government is now taking positive steps to implement, with certain modifications, the recommendation made by the Law Commission in this connection and thereby to give effect to the suggestions of the Supreme Court. In this context it would be worthwhile, though only from a purely academic point of view, to examine the various provisions contained in our ancient law-books as regards the law of torts and to see how far the Government could in those days be held liable for torts committed by its servants.

What is a tort ?

Now, first of all, it is necessary to see as to what is meant by a tort and how far our ancient law-books, especially the *Smritis*, recognise, if at all, a liability arising out of the same.

Unfortunately, no truly satisfactory definition of a tort has been discovered. In very general terms, a tort is a civil wrong, other than a breach of contract, which the law will redress by an award of damages. But this definition is far from informative nor even strictly accurate in view of other remedies, like self-help and equitable relief by injunction, which are sometimes available to an injured party for a tort committed or threatened against him ⁴.

Crime and a Civil Wrong

A criminal wrong or crime is an offence against the State, as representative of the public, which will indicate its interests by punishing the offender ⁵. A civil wrong, on the other hand, is the infringement of a right possessed by the person wronged either particularly against the wrong-doer, in which case it is a right arising out of a contract or quasi contract, or generally against the world at large, in which case the infringement is said to constitute a tort.

The Division of wrongs into civil and criminal and its recognition by the Smṛtis

It is said that all law was originally penal. This may or may not be so; but there is no doubt about the fact that our law-givers, the framers of the *Smṛtis*, were dealing with civil as well as criminal matters almost from the very beginning. The topics of litigation mentioned and dealt with in their *Smṛtis* by Manu, Yājñavalkya, Bṛhaspati, Nārada, Kātyāyana and many others relate to civil as well as to criminal matters. Although under the law, as then administered, there was no division of forum so far as law-suits were concerned, yet the division of law-suits into civil and criminal appears to have begun to be recognised at a sufficiently early stage.

According to Bṛhaspati, "Litigation originates in two ways—one, when a person commits a criminal act (*himsā*) and the other, when he does not pay to another what is due (*deyam*) from him to the latter. Litigation originating in these two ways assumes several forms"⁶. The same authority further goes on to say: "Litigation has two aspects—the one arising from *dhana* (money) and the other from *himsā* (crime). The one arising from *artha* has fourteen forms and that from *himsā* has four."⁷

Similarly, Kātyāyana says, "He who through wickedness causes *himsā* (injury) to another or does not give to another his *deya* (i. e. what is due to him), even though the latter requests him to do so, should be dragged (before the Court) by the King's order."⁸

Referring to the above-mentioned verse of Kātyāyana, Dr. P. V. Kane says that injury here refers to criminal matters and *deyam* stands for all civil disputes. Thus, according to Kātyāyana too, litigation or *vyavahāra* has two aspects. He puts the same thing more categorically in the following words: "*Vyavahāra* has two aspects, which come to be eighteen owing to the manifoldness in the objects to be secured (by litigation); the eighteen again become 1008 owing to the multifariousness of the matters to be proved."¹⁰ As explained by Dr. Kane in the footnote to this verse, the two aspects of *vyavahāra* are civil (*dhanamūla*) and criminal (*himsāmūla*).¹¹ Kātyāyana again refers to these two aspects of litigation when he says: "What the plaintiff complains of (before the court) is the root of litigation: the two springs of *vyavahāra* are said to be non-remission of *deya* and *himsā*."¹²

The above-mentioned twofold aspects of litigation seem to have been recognised also by Yājñavalkya¹³ and Nārada.¹⁴ No doubt, they both refer only to *artha-vivādas* or civil disputes but that in itself implies the recognition of a division of disputes into civil and criminal. Commenting on the relevant text of Nārada, which he quotes in his commentary on the *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇuśeṣvara too draws a clear distinction between an *arthavivāda*, i. e. a civil suit, and a *manyukṛta-vivāda*, i. e. a legal proceeding relating to an act caused by *manu* or mens rea.¹⁵

Law of Torts and the Smṛtis

The *Smṛtis* deal with substantive law under specific titles of litigation, each having a particular name, and none, not even those that deal exclusively with civil matters, relates particularly to torts. We do not also have in our ancient legal literature any specific or particular term for the English word 'tort' nor do we find the subject dealt with in that literature with any degree of prominence attached to it. Nevertheless, most of the prominent *Smṛtis* do contain precepts providing for award of damages for several kinds of tortious acts. Such precepts are, however, to be found only here and there either under a topic dealing with criminal law or under one relating to a contractual obligation, such as one arising

out of a contract of service. The reason is obvious. As in other systems of jurisprudence so in the ancient legal system of this country too, the law of torts had a comparatively late development and before it could develop to any considerable extent the process was cut short by foreign domination and consequent extinction of the entire system of administration of justice.

Almost all the *Smṛtis* that deal with secular law provide for award of money-compensation for injuries to one's person and property. The words generally used by them in this connection for the word 'compensation' or 'damages' are '*utthāna-vyaya*', '*samutthāna-vyaya*' or '*samutthānaja-vyaya*' (expenses of recovery or expenses necessary for or incurred in putting the person injured in *status quo ante*) and '*tuṣṭikara*' (solatium); although sometimes the more commonplace words, like '*vyaya*' and '*mūlya*', too have in the particular context served the purpose quite well. In Professor Gharpure's opinion, the word '*daṇḍa*', which is generally used to denote a punishment or more particularly a punishment by way of a fine, is used also to denote an imposition by way of compensation or damages in connection with the infringement of certain civil rights either by omission or commission.¹⁶ This may or may not be so; but it is quite probable that in many of the criminal proceedings the Court got a portion of the *daṇḍa* or fine recovered from the wrongdoer, i. e., the convict, paid to the person wronged with a view to compensate the latter, if not wholly then at least partly, for the injury caused to him.

Of the *Smṛtis* that deal with law and law-suits, the prominent ones are those of Viṣṇu, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Bṛhaspati, and Kātyāyana. All these *Smṛtis*, with the exception of only that of Nārada, contain specific provisions for award of money-compensation for injuries caused to an individual's person as well as to his property. Nārada speaks of payment of damages only in connection with cases of cattle-trespass and theft and is silent on all other matters in this connection. It is, however, quite probable that provisions relating to award of damages for other sorts of torts might be contained in some longer recension of the *Nārada Smṛti* which is not at present available.

Torts against person

Under English law and probably also under the present-day Indian law, trespass, whether it be to person or property, is actionable *per se* without proof of special damage; but it does not seem to have been so

LAW OF TORTS UNDER THE HINDU LEGAL SYSTEM

97

under the Ancient Indian law, under which actual damage appears to have been an essential ingredient for the establishment of a claim to money-compensation. Thus, while mere assault or the raising of hands with a menacing gesture (*udgūraṇa* or *avagūraṇa*) is punishable as an offence according to both Kauṭilya¹⁷ and Kātyāyana,¹⁸ the same has not been stated either by Kauṭilya or by any of the *Smṛtikāras* as entailing a liability to pay damages. On the other hand, all those law-givers, who have dealt with this subject in their respective *Smṛtis*, have spoken of an actual causing of pain or injury as the basis for award of damages.

Thus, according to Viṣṇu, if a person causes pain or injury to another then he has to pay to the latter all the expenses necessary for enabling him to recover from his illness.¹⁹

Manu lays down the law on the subject thus :—"If a limb is injured, a wound is caused or blood flows, the assailant shall be made to pay to the sufferer the expenses of the cure, or (if the latter does not accept these expenses then) the whole (i. e. both the usual amercement and the expenses of the cure) as a fine to the King."²⁰

Yājñavalkya's precept on the same subject runs thus :—"One who causes *duḥkha* to another is liable to pay to the latter, in addition to the punishment laid down for the particular *kalaha* (troublesome act), (which has caused the *duḥkha*) the expenses which he has incurred in getting himself restored to *status quo ante*."²¹

Similarly, Bṛhaspati too ordains payment of *samutthāna-vyaya* in cases of bodily injury as also restoration to the rightful owner of any property that might have been taken away from him in the course of a *kalaha*.²²

As observed by Professor Kane in his Introduction to the *Kātyāyana-Smṛtisāroddhāra*, Kātyāyana represents the last stage of the development of law and procedure in the *Smṛtis*. He comes almost at the end of the period of about a thousand years during which from scanty and scattered beginnings in the earliest *Dharmasūtras* principles of an indigenous system of jurisprudence were slowly evolved and matured.²³ It will be seen that on the present question too Kātyāyana's dicta mark a clear improvement on the rule of law laid down in this connection by the *Smṛtikāras* who preceded him. Thus, while the other *Smṛtikāras* provide for payment of only a *samutthāna-vyaya* or actual expenses of recovery to a person

suffering a bodily injury at the hands of another, Kātyāyana entitles the former to recover from the latter in addition to *samutthāna-vyaya* a further sum of money as solatium (*tuṣṭikara*) and while they give no indication as to how the amount to be paid as *samutthāna-vyaya* is to be determined (in case the suit is brought before the plaintiff has been completely cured of the injury and the expenses connected therewith have been fully incurred), Kātyāyana enjoins the same to be determined in accordance with the opinion of experts (*paṇḍitaih*) and to be confined to the curing of the particular injury. Kātyāyana has not left the determination of even *tuṣṭikara* (solatium) to the sweet will of the Courts but has laid down that the amount of *tuṣṭikara* to be awarded should be determined on the same principles which would guide the Court in awarding punishment for that particular wrongful act when viewed as a crime. He says:—"In case of an injury to the organs of the body (the wrongdoer is liable to pay to the person injured) a solatium which is to be fixed in the same manner (i. e. on the same principles) in which the Court would determine the amount of the punishment as well as the costs of recovery which are to be determined in accordance with the opinion of experts, such costs of recovery being payable only for so long as the injury is not healed up."²⁴

The original Kātyāyana *Smṛti*, which, according to Dr. Kane's estimate, must have contained no less than 1500 verses, is, it seems, lost beyond redemption and what we have at present with us is only a collection of some 973 verses collected together by Dr. Kane from several *Nibandhas* in which the same are found quoted together with another collection of 121 verses similarly collected by Dr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar and published in Kane Felicitation Volume. Unfortunately, neither of these collections contains the particular verse or verses in which Kātyāyana would have laid down the principles on which the measure of punishment to be awarded in any particular case is to be determined; but we have these principles enunciated in some of the other *Smṛtis*.²⁵ According to these latter, the Court while, awarding punishment, has to look to all the attendant circumstances as well as to the capacity of the culprit to pay. Kātyāyana requires the same thing to be done in assessing damages as well.

Torts against property

As regards torts against property, Viṣṇu says that if any person causes pain (injury) to any domestic animal then he has to pay to its owner the expenses required for curing that animal;²⁶ if he actually kills any such

animal then he has to pay its price to its owner ²⁷ and if he cuts down any fruit-bearing or flower-bearing tree, creeper, shrub or climbing plant then he has to pay to the owner the revenue which the same would have yielded ²⁸ and that all this has to be suffered in addition to the punishment for which the culprit might be liable towards the State.

The law laid down by Manu on the subject is more comprehensive. It is as follows :—

“He who damages the goods of another, be it intentionally or unintentionally, shall give satisfaction to the owner and pay to the King a fine equal to the damage.”²⁹

The use of the words *jñānato' jñānatopi vā* (intentionally or unintentionally) in this verse goes to show that the rule of law contained therein is not confined to cases of trespass alone but applies equally well to cases of wrongs caused by negligence. This has been made clear by Medhātithi, who says that the expression *jñānato' jñānatopi vā* as used here indicates that no distinction is to be made if the injury is caused on account of negligence or intentionally and that in either case the wrongdoer has to satisfy the person wronged either by delivery to him of another article of the same kind or by paying the price of the damaged article or by apologising.³⁰

As mentioned earlier, according to Yājñavalkya, one who causes '*duḥkha*' to another is liable to pay to the latter the expenses which he has had to incur in getting himself restored to *status quo ante*.³¹ If we take the ordinary meaning of the word '*duḥkha*' then this precept of Yājñavalkya should be wide enough to cover cases not only of bodily injuries but those of other sorts of injuries too, including injuries arising out of damage caused to another's property. No doubt, both Vijñāneśvara³¹ and Aparārka³² have interpreted this verse so as to limit its scope to bodily injuries; but Viśvarūpa, who was probably the earliest one to write a commentary on the *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya, seems to have put no such limitation on the scope of this verse. He simply says that one who causes '*duḥkha*' (pain) to another is liable to pay to the latter all that he may have to spend in regaining his painlessness (*nirduḥkhatā*).³³ Besides laying down the rule in this general way, Yājñavalkya specifically provides for award of damages in a case where damage is caused to a wall (probably a common wall)³⁴ or where growing crops are damaged by cattle straying into a field.³⁵

In verse 222 of Part II of his *Smṛti*, the verse in which he speaks about payment of damages in a case where the wrongdoer causes pain to another, Yājñavalkya refers to the tort-feasor's act by the word *kalaha*. As *kalaha* etymologically means an act that mars one's pleasure or prejudicially affects the love and affection existing between any two persons,³⁶ it is doubtful if the rule of law laid down by Yājñavalkya in the said verse will cover a negligent act too ; but so far as cases falling under verses 223 (damage done to a wall) and 161 (cattle-trespass cases) are concerned, they would mostly be cases involving negligence on the part of the wrong-doer.

The present *Smṛti* of Bṛhaspati is, like that of Kātyāyana, only a reconstructed one and the only passage contained in this reconstructed *Smṛti* as to payment of compensation for loss caused to property apparently covers cases only of conversion of goods and not also those of trespass to goods for it only provides for restoration to the owner of property of which he has been deprived in the course of a *kalaha* i. e. open conflict.³⁶

According to Kātyāyana, whenever anything is damaged or taken away then, even though the act complained of, when viewed as a crime, be punishable only with a reproof or chastisement, the wrongdoer should be made to pay for the injury caused and those who are indigent should be made to compensate for the loss by doing work for the man who is to be compensated.³⁷

Kātyāyana makes a specific provision with regard to loss caused to a person by killing a tamed or domestic animal and claims the said provision to be based on a precept of Manu. He says, "On killing living beings (the offender) should give (to the owner) another animal of the same type or its price : this is what Manu has said."³⁸

Kātyāyana specifically provides also for payment of damages with regard to injury caused to articles of special value. He says, "He who causes slight injury, breakage or total destruction of (valuable) articles would be liable to the first amercement and the owner of the article is entitled to get (another similar) article (or its price)."³⁹ The word used here to denote the property is simply *dravya* ; but, as Kane rightly points out, the verse applies to mischief to valuable articles like crystal.⁴⁰ The distinction between articles of special value and ordinary value is, however,

material only when the act is viewed as a crime and the Court is called upon to determine the measure of punishment to be awarded to the culprit. The distinction is meaningless in so far as the injured person's civil remedy is concerned; for the wrongdoer has to make good the loss, no matter whether the property is of special value or of ordinary value.

The *Smṛtis* also incidentally deal with torts of particular types against property while dealing with cattle-trespass and theft.

Under the *Smṛti*-law cattle-trespass does not seem to have been actionable *per se* unless and until actual damage was caused to the crops. In case of actual damage, the owner of the crops was, according to Viṣṇu, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Bṛhaspati entitled to compensation for the loss thereby caused to him.⁴¹ But, excepting the latter two, viz. Nārada and Bṛhaspati, none of the others clearly indicates if, in case the cattle were attended by a herdsman, this compensation for loss caused to the crops is to be paid by the herdsman or by the owner of the cattle or by both of them jointly or by both of them jointly and severally.

Kullūka, while commenting on Manu's text relating to this matter, says that the two are liable in the alternative, the liability depending upon as to which of them was at fault.⁴² As against this view, we have the view of Vijñāneśvara who, while commenting on the corresponding text of Yājñavalkya, says that the cattle-owner should be made to reimburse the field-owner with as much of farm-produce as may be estimated by the neighbouring cultivators to be equivalent to the chaff and grain etc. destroyed by the cattle.⁴³ The same author further goes on to say that in every case it is the cattle-owner who has to make this re-imbursement; because by eating up the crops the cattle get stronger, stronger cattle produce more milk and as the cattle-owner takes that milk it is he who gets the benefit of the damage done by his cattle to the crops of the farm-owner.⁴⁴

The Nārada *Smṛti* has two verses in this connection. One of them says, "When the crops have been entirely destroyed to the very roots, their owner may claim a corresponding quantity of grain as damages, the herdsman shall be corporally punished and the owner of the cattle shall pay a fine."⁴⁵ This verse is obviously silent on the question as to who is to pay the compensation. In the other verse Nārada goes on to say: "When a man claims damages for crops grazed up by cattle the grain that was sown in the field shall be delivered to him in a quantity that

shall be determined having regard to the produce of neighbouring field; the chaff should be made over to the owner of the cattle and grain (i. e. the price of the crops) to the husbandman".⁴⁶ This verse too does not expressly say as to who has to pay the damages. It is simply by implication that we can say that Nārada meant the same to be paid by the owner of the cattle. This verse from Nārada has, however, got another reading too, which has been adopted by Aparārka in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, and if this reading, which makes better sense, is accepted, then it will entail in the precepts of Nārada an express provision to the effect that the aforesaid damages should be paid by the cattle-owner, because the third line of the verse, according to this reading, would mean that the crops eaten up by the cattle should be made good by the cattle-owner to the cultivator of the field.⁴⁷

Bṛhaspati's text too relating to this matter has got two versions, one adopted by Sri K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in his edition of the reconstructed *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* and the other by Lakṣmīdhara in the *Kṛtyakalpataru*. Translated into English these two versions of the said text respectively stand as follows :—

"He should keep cows away from the crops (but) if they graze the same then the fault is two-fold. (In that case) the owner of the cattle should be made to pay a fine of one hundred *paṇas* and the herdsman deserves to be given a corporal punishment. In case there is grazing and eating up of the crops to the very roots, along with the fine (there should also be a reimbursement in respect of) the grain".⁴⁸

"He should keep the cows away from the crops (but) if they graze the same then both are at fault. (In that case) the owner (of the cattle) should be made to pay (the value of) the crops (to the husbandman) and fine (to the king) and the herdsman deserves corporal punishment".⁴⁹

It will be seen that the cattle-owner's liability to pay damages for damage caused to the crops is not so express in the former version as it is in the latter one, although the same is strongly implied there also.

As regards loss caused by theft and robbery, Kātyāyana lays down that effort should be made to get the stolen property restored *in specie* and when that is not possible the culprit should be made to pay to the person wronged its price⁵⁰. Manu and Yājñavalkya too enjoin restoration of the stolen property to the person from whose possession the

same was stolen ⁵¹ and although they do not say so in so many words yet, as both Vijñāneśvara ⁵² and Aparārka ⁵³ have, while commenting on the relevant text of Yājñavalkya opined, both of them mean to say that this restoration can be made either by handing over the stolen property as it is or by paying its money-value.

Under the Smṛti-law the liability to indemnify the owner of a stolen article attached not only to the thief but also to the person or persons whose duty it was to apprehend or assist in apprehending the thief and recovering the stolen property; but this liability was quite independent of the thief's own liability.

Yājñavalkya says, "If a murder or robbery takes place and the culprit is not apprehended then the fault lies with the headman in case the incident takes place inside (the residential area of) the village and the thief's footsteps are not traced as having gone out of the village, with the owners of the pasture-land in case the same takes place inside a pasture-land and with the thief-catchers in case the same takes place either on a road or elsewhere outside the village-pasture-land; the whole village may be made to pay the compensation when the theft takes place within the boundaries of the village (but outside the limits of the residential area) in case the foot-steps of the thief are not traced as having gone out of the village but in case they are so traced the residents of the place where they are found to have entered may be made to pay the same. If the theft takes place beyond one *krośa* from a village then the surrounding five or ten villages may be made to pay the compensation"⁵⁴.

Similarly, Nārada gives the law on the point as follows:—"He, on whose pasture-ground a robbery has been committed, must trace the thief to the best of his power, or else he must make good what has been stolen, unless the foot-marks can be traced from that ground (into another man's ground). When the foot-marks after leaving that ground are lost and cannot be traced any further the neighbours ⁵⁵, the inspectors of the road ⁵⁶ and governors of the region ⁵⁷ shall be made responsible for the loss. When a house has been plundered the king shall cause the officers carrying the baton and the noose (*daṇḍa-pāsika*)⁵⁸, the warders (*āraṅśakas*) ⁵⁹ and the officers-in-charge of the country-side (*bāhikas*) ⁶⁰ to make good the loss, when the thief is not caught"⁶¹.

Kātyāyana, likewise, enunciates the rule as under:—

“When a robbery takes place in a house the king shall make the thief-catchers, the warders and the governors of the regions to pay (the money-value of) the stolen article (to the owner). When the robbery takes place inside a village then the headman of the village, when on a pasture-land then the owner of the pasture-land, when outside a village-pasture-land then the thief-catcher, should be made to pay (the money-equivalent of) the stolen article (to its owner)”⁶².

It has already been pointed out that the liability of the residents of the village, the village-headman and the government officers mentioned above to compensate the owner of the stolen article for the loss suffered by him by reason of the theft or robbery is quite independent of the thief's or robber's own liability. The thief or the robber is liable because he himself is responsible for the theft and the conversion taking place thereafter; but the other persons can be held liable not because they are guilty of any trover or conversion but simply because they have failed to perform a duty cast upon them by law in favour of the subjects of the State, which itself is responsible for the safety of the person and property of such subjects.

Defamation.

The *Smṛtis* do deal with insulting and abusive statements and gestures and this they do under a definite and separate topic of litigation, known as *vākpārūṣya*; but they deal with the same merely as constituting a crime and not as a civil wrong capable of being compensated for by an award of damages. It is, however, quite possible that the Court might have in appropriate cases awarded to the complainant a portion of the fine realised from the culprit upon his conviction; but no civil action seems to have lain for recovery of any compensation as such.

Abuse of Legal Procedure.

The *Smṛtis* attached very great importance to the sanctity of law-courts and legal procedure and so made every sort of abuse of the process of law and every person responsible for the same punishable by law. Thus, according to them, it was not only a person who instituted a false suit or criminal prosecution (*mithyābhiyogin*)⁶³, a suitor who effected or procured an unwarranted arrest before judgment or broke through a lawfully effected or procured arrest before judgment⁶⁴, a litigant who

procured a judgment in his own favour by bribing or otherwise unlawfully influencing the judge or the jury ⁶⁵, a witness who purjured himself ⁶⁶, a person who suborned a witness ⁶⁷ or forged a document ⁶⁸, or a stranger who indulged in maintenance and champerty (*parāṛthavādin*) ⁶⁹ whom *Smṛtis* declared punishable but even the judges, who gave a wrong judgment under the influence of attachment, avarice or fear, were declared liable to severe punishment ⁷⁰. Viṣṇuśāstra goes a step further and declares that if a judge decides a case wrongly and (later on) it turns out that he did so with the consent or permission of the King then all the *sabhyas* and others along with the King are liable to punishment ⁷¹.

But the liability in all the cases mentioned above was only a criminal one and none of the *Smṛtikāras*, with the single exception of Kātyāyana, who probably came last of all, considered any of these offenders liable to pay any compensation to the person wronged. According to Kātyāyana, "Whatever loss is caused (to a litigant) through the fault of the *sabhyas* the latter should be ordered to make good; but (the King) should not disturb the decision of the matter in dispute between the litigants" ⁷². This, according to Professor Kane, applies where after a decision is pronounced it is found that a wrong decision was given by a corrupt assessor. He points out that in such a case the decision stands, but the erring assessor has to make good the loss occasioned by his decision ⁷³. According to the *Smṛtis*, nobody was above law ⁷⁴, not even the judges. None of the *Smṛtis* contains any provision akin to the Judicial Officers' Protection Act or to the indemnity-sections contained in the various Acts forming part of our present-day Statute-Book.

Vicarious Liability.

One of the important principles associated with the present day Law of Torts is what is known as 'Vicarious Liability'. We speak of vicarious liability when the law holds one person responsible for the misconduct of another, although he himself is free from blameworthiness or fault. In Europe, and particularly in England, the early mediaeval idea was to hold a master responsible for all his servant's wrongs. With the disintegration of feudal system this gave way to the principle that his liability be limited to the particular act which he had ordered or to which he had afterwards assented. This was later on extended to many other cases by means of the fiction of implied command. But with the advance of commerce and industry the theory of implied

command too proved to be inadequate. According to the generally accepted modern view, which is also the law in India, the master's liability is genuinely vicarious and not based on any constructive fault of his own, for instance, in selecting and appointing careless or inefficient servants. Consequently, the present-day law holds a master responsible in respect of all wrongs committed by a servant within the scope of his employment and functioning as such.

In so far as the Ancient Indian law is concerned, it never recognised that one person could be held liable, either civilly or criminally, for an illegal act committed by another. Thus, we have it clearly stated in the *Nārada Smṛti* that "neither is a father liable for a wrongful act committed by his son nor is the master liable for one committed by his dog or monkey, unless they were commanded or commissioned to do so"⁷⁵. It is obvious that what is stated here in respect of a wrongful act committed by a domesticated or kept dog or monkey must apply with equal force to one committed by a servant.

In fact as pointed out by Fleming in his book on the Law of Torts, 'the modern doctrine of vicarious liability cannot parade as a deduction from legalistic premises'⁷⁶ and has been rightly called by Lord Simond as the 'product of social necessity'⁷⁷. It seems the Ancient Indian Law-givers did not have to face any such necessity as might lead them to modify the basic legal proposition that no one can be held responsible for a wrong committed by another unless he himself was in some way at fault.

It is not that the *Smṛtis* do not contain precepts declaring a master liable in certain circumstances for a particular illegal act even though the same was actually committed not by himself but by a servant. But such precepts relate either to a case of command given by the master for commission of that particular act or to a case where the master is either otherwise at fault, for instance, in employing a servant who is devoid of the requisite skill, or has in some way benefitted from the illegal act complained of, for instance, where due to the negligence of the herdsman the cattle belonging to the latter's master eat up another person's standing crops and thereby get their milk-potential increased for the master's benefit⁴⁴.

Reference has already been made to that text of *Nārada* which speaks about wrongful acts committed by domesticated dogs and monkeys.

LAW OF TORTS UNDER THE HINDU LEGAL SYSTEM

107

It is a necessary corollary from the said text that if a servant commits a wrong under the command of his master the latter cannot escape his liability for the same.

There is a text of Bṛhaspati which is more direct on the point. It says, "Where a servant commissioned by his master, does any improper act for the benefit of the master, the latter shall be held responsible for the same"⁷⁸. This leads to two inferences: firstly, that if a wrongful act is committed by a servant under the command of his master then the master too must be liable for the same and, secondly, that, notwithstanding the fact that the act complained of was not directly connected with the master's command or commission, the latter would still be liable if the same was committed while the commission lasted, i. e., as we now-a-days say, was committed in the course of the employment, provided that it was also for the master's benefit (*tadartham*) i. e., the master has derived any benefit out of it.

The case of the master's liability flowing from the appointment of an unskilled or unqualified servant is best illustrated by the following text from Manu:—

"Where owing to the driver's want of skill a vehicle leaves the track and thereby an injury is caused to another, the master is liable to punishment to the extent of 200 (*paṇas*); but where the driver is one qualified to drive, it is the driver (alone) who deserves to be punished"⁷⁹. According to Kullūka, in such a case the master is liable because he engaged an untrained driver⁸⁰. Consequently, if the servant employed is possessed of the requisite skill, i. e., is qualified for the particular job, or if no skill or qualification is required for the same, the master will not at all be liable for any wrongful act committed by the servant even though the same was committed in course of the employment. This is, of course, subject to the condition that the master derived no benefit from the act complained of.

There is yet another class of cases in which according to almost all the major *Smṛtis* the master's liability to pay money-compensation arises in the event of an act of omission on the part of his employees which is probably considered to be an act of omission on his own part. This happens, as has been mentioned earlier, when the police-officials responsible for tracing out a thief or robber and recovering stolen

property from the latter fail to do so. In such cases the King or the State is liable to make good from the Government treasury the loss suffered by the person whose goods have been stolen beyond recovery⁸¹. But here too the master's liability is dependent upon his own obligation to protect the property of his subjects rather than upon any rule in the nature of 'vicarious liability' as understood today. The ruler who collects his dues but fails to afford protection sinks into hell⁸². As remarked by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, 'it is held a breach of the coronation pledge'⁸³.

Government's liability for wrongs committed by its servants.

Anent its employees, the Government, both according to the Ancient Indian Law and the law at present obtaining in this country, is in the same position as any other employer; but while, according to the present-day law its liability is limited in its scope by reason of the English Law rule that the King can neither do any wrong nor be sued upon in his own courts, there was no such limitation under the Hindu System of Jurisprudence, according to which there is none, not even the King, who is above law. Even the King, when he transgresses the law, is liable to punishment just as any other person is⁸⁴. In fact, according to Manu, the King is liable to a punishment which should be thousand times the punishment to which an ordinary person may be liable⁸⁵.

The present-day law on the subject draws a clear distinction between acts done in the exercise of what are usually termed 'sovereign powers' and acts done in the conduct of undertakings which might be carried on by private individuals without having such powers delegated to them⁸⁶. 'If a tortious act is committed by a public servant and it gives rise to a claim for damages, the question to ask is: was that tortious act committed by the servant in discharge of statutory functions which are referable to, and ultimately based on, the delegation of sovereign power of the State to such public servant? If the answer is in the affirmative, the action for damages for loss caused by such tortious acts will not lie. On the other hand, if the tortious act has been committed by a public servant in discharge of duties assigned to him not by virtue of the delegation of any sovereign power, an action for damages would lie. The act of the public servant committed by him during the course of his employment is, in this category of cases, an act of a servant who might have been employed by a private individual for the same purpose'⁸⁷. The law as contained in the *Smritis* does not make any such distinction

LAW OF TORTS UNDER THE HINDU LEGAL SYSTEM

109

with the result that if in any particular case the Government is otherwise liable to pay compensation it will be so liable, no matter whether the illegal or wrongful act which has occasioned that liability was or was not an act referable to the State's sovereign powers.

It will be interesting to examine some of the cases decided in recent years by the courts in India concerning the Government's liability for torts committed by its servants and to see how far decisions in those cases tally with or differ from the results that may be arrived at by an application to the facts of those cases of the rules of Ancient Indian Law hereinbefore discussed. It is, however, intended to confine this discussion to the two Supreme Court cases referred to in the beginning of this article.

In the case of *'State of Rajasthan vs. Musammat Vidyawati and another'*¹, one Lokumal, an employee of the State of Rajasthan, knocked down, while rashly driving a Government Jeep car under the Collector of Udaipur, one Jagdishlal and killed the latter. Jagdishlal's widow and daughter sued Lokumal and the State of Rajasthan for damages. The trial court decreed the suit against the former but dismissed it against the latter. On appeal the High Court decreed the suit against the State as well and this decision was on appeal by the State of Rajasthan upheld by the Supreme Court on the ground that the tortious act complained of was committed in circumstances wholly dissociated from the exercise of sovereign powers. Now, if we were to apply the Ancient Indian Law to the facts of the case the only question to be asked would be: if Lokumal was possessed of a proper driving licence or not; because it is the driving licence alone which can go to show that he was qualified to drive a car. The State would be libable if Lokumal had no such licence, otherwise Lokumal alone would be liable.

In *'Kasturi Lal Ralia Ram Jain vs. The State of Uttar Pradesh'*², Ralia Ram, a partner of the plaintiff-appellant firm and a resident of Amritsar, went to Meerut to sell gold, silver and other goods in the Meerut-market. While he was passing through the Bazar with this object he was arrested by the Police and all his belongings, including gold and silver, were placed in the Police Malkhana under the charge of one Mohammad Amir who subsequently misappropriated the gold and fled away to Pakistan along with the same. Ralia Ram made repeated demands for the return of gold which had been seized from him and since he could not recover the gold from the police officers he filed a

suit against the State of Uttar Pradesh claiming return of the gold and in the alternative for payment to him of a sum of Rs. 11,075.00 as the price of the gold and Rs. 355.00 as interest by way of damages as well as future interest. The first two courts dismissed the suit and thereupon the plaintiff went up in appeal to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court upheld the decision of the courts below on the ground that the act of negligence committed by the police officers while dealing with the property of Ralia Ram had been committed by them in respect of a property which they had seized in exercise of their statutory powers. We have already seen that under the Ancient Indian Law the State was liable to give money compensation to a person from whose custody a certain property had been stolen in case it was unable to recover the same from the thief and restore it to the former. It is obvious that the State must be more so liable if the property is stolen not from the custody of its owner but from the State's own custody. In this case the State would be liable for another reason too. The position of the State in relation to the gold seized from Ralia Ram and kept in the Police Malkhana was that of a bailee. It is the duty of every bailee to return the goods bailed to the bailor at the proper time and if he fails to do so either on account of his having converted these goods to his own use or on account of their having been lost due to his negligence he is in either case liable to compensate the bailor for the loss caused to him ⁸⁷.

Thus, if the two cases mentioned above were to be decided in accordance with Ancient Indian Law the decisions would be quite different from those that were arrived at by the Supreme Court in those cases.

LAW OF TORTS UNDER THE HINDU LEGAL SYSTEM

111

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LAW OF TORTS UNDER THE HINDU LEGAL SYSTEM

113

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३६. कलं कामं हन्तीति कलहः । शब्दकल्पद्रुम ।
३७. वागदण्डस्ताडनं चैव येषूक्तमपराधिषु ।
हृतं भग्नं प्रदाप्यास्ते शोध्यं निःस्वैस्तु कर्मणा ॥ का० ७८८.
३८. प्रमापणे प्राणभूतां दद्यात्तत्प्रतिरूपकम् ।
तस्यानुरूपं मूल्यं वा दद्यादित्यब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ का० ७६२.
३९. क्षतं भङ्गोपमदो च कुर्याद् द्रव्येषु यो नरः ।
प्राप्नुयात्साहसं पूर्वं द्रव्यभाक्स्वाम्युदाहृतः ॥ का० ८०७.
४०. कात्यायन० पृ० २८६, पादटिप्पणी सं० ८०७.
४१. महिषी चेत्सस्यनाशं कुर्यात्तत्पालस्त्वष्टौ माषान्दण्ड्यः । अपालायाः स्वामी ।
अश्वस्तूष्ट्रोगर्दभो वा । गौश्चेत्तदधर्मम् । तदधर्मजाविकम् । भक्षयित्वोपविष्टेषु द्विगुणम् ।
सर्वत्र स्वामिने विनष्टसस्यमूल्यं च ॥ वि० ५,१४०-१४६.
पथि क्षेत्रे परिवृते ग्रामान्तीयेऽथवा पुनः ।
सपालः शतदण्डार्हो विपालान्वारयेत्पशून् ॥
क्षेत्रेष्वन्येषु तु पशुः सपादं पणमर्हति ।
सर्वत्र तु सदो देयः क्षेत्रिकस्येति धारणा ॥ मनु ८,२४०-२४१.
यावत्सस्यं विनश्येत्तु तावत्स्यात्क्षेत्रिणः फलम् ।
गोपस्ताड्यश्च गोमी तु पूर्वोक्तं दण्डमर्हति ॥ या० २,१६१.
गोभिस्तु भक्षितं सस्यं यो नरः प्रतियाचते ।
सामन्तानुमतं देयं धान्यं यत्तत्र वापितम् ॥ नारद in मि० १,१६१.
समूलसस्यनाशे तु तत्स्वामी धान्यमाप्नुयात् ।
वधेन पालो मुच्येत दण्डं स्वामिनि पातयेत् ॥ ना०, क्षेत्रविवादपदम् , २६.

LAW OF TORTS UNDER THE HINDU LEGAL SYSTEM

115

- सस्यान्निवारयेद् गास्तु चीर्णे दोषद्वयं भवेत् ।
स्वामी शतदमं दाप्यः पालस्ताडनमर्हति
शदश्च सदमं चीर्णे समूले कार्षभक्षिते ॥ वृ० १६, १७.
४२. सर्वत्र क्षेत्रे पशुभक्षितं फलं स्वामिने पालेन स्वामिना वा यथापराधं दातव्यमिति निश्चयः ॥ कु० ८, २४१.
४३. यस्मिन्क्षेत्रे यावत्पालाधान्यादिकं गवादिभिर्विनाशितं तावत्क्षेत्रफलं 'एतावति क्षेत्रे एतावद् भवति' इति सामन्तैः परिकल्पितं तत्क्षेत्रस्वामिने गोमी दापनीयः । गोपस्तु ताडनीय एव, न फलं दापनीयः । मि० २, १६०.
४४. फलदानं पुनः सर्वत्र गोस्वामिन एव, तत्फलपुष्टमहिष्यादिक्षीरेणोपभोगद्वारेण तत्क्षेत्रफलभागित्वात् । मि० २, १६१।
४५. समूलसस्यानाशे तु तत्स्वामी धान्यमाप्नुयात् ।
वधेन पालो मुच्येत दण्डं स्वामिनि पातयेत् ॥ ना०, क्षेत्रविवादपदम्, २६.
४६. गोभिस्तु भक्षितं सस्यं यो नरः प्रतिमार्गति ।
सामन्तस्य शदो देयो धान्यं यत्तत्र वापितं ।
गवत्रं भोमिने देयं धान्यं तत्कृषकस्य तु ॥ ना० क्षेत्रविवादपदम्, ३३-३४.
४७. गोभिस्तु भक्षितं सस्यं यो नरः प्रतियाचते ।
सामन्तानुमतं देयं धान्यं यत्र तु वापितम् ॥
गोजग्धं गोमिना देयं धान्यं वै कर्षकस्य तु ।
एवं हि विनयः प्रोक्तो गवां सस्यावमर्दने ॥ नारद in अपराक, २, १६१.
४८. सस्यान्निवारयेद् गास्तु चीर्णे दोषद्वयं भवेत् ।
स्वामी शतदमं दाप्यः पालस्ताडनमर्हति ।
शदश्च सदमं चीर्णे समूले कार्षभक्षिते ॥ वृ० १६, १७.
४९. सस्यान्निवारयेद् गास्तु चीर्णे दोषो द्वयोर्भवेत् ।
स्वामी सदमं दाप्यः पालस्ताडनमर्हति ॥ वृ०स्पति in कृत्यकल्पतरु
५०. चौरैर्हृतं प्रयत्नेन स्वरूपं प्रतिपादयेत् ।
तदभावे तु मूल्यं स्यादन्यथा कित्विषी नृपः ॥ का० ८१६'
५१. धान्यं दशेभ्यः कुम्भेभ्यो हरताऽभ्यधिकं वधः ।
शेषेऽप्येकादशगुणं दाप्यस्तस्य च तद्धनम् ॥ मनु ८, ३२०.

गृहीतः शङ्कया चौर्ये नात्मानं चेद्विशोधयेत् ।

दापयित्वा हृतं द्रव्यं चौरदण्डेन दण्डयेत् ॥

चौरं प्रदाप्यापहृतं घातयेद्विविधैर्वधैः ।

सचिह्नं ब्राह्मणं कृत्वा स्वराष्ट्राद्विप्रवासयेत् ॥ या० २,२६६-२७०.

५२. यस्तु प्रागुक्तपरीक्षया यन्निरपेक्षं वा निश्चितचौर्यस्तं स्वामिने अपहृतं धनं स्वरूपेण मूल्यकल्पनया वा दापयित्वा विविधैर्वधैर्घातयेत् ॥ मि० २,२७०.

५३. प्रमाणतो निश्चितं चौरमपहृतं द्रव्यं स्वरूपतो मूल्यतो वा स्वामिने प्रदाप्य विविधैर्वधोपायैर्घातयेद्विंशत्यात् ॥ अप० २,२७०.

५४. घातितोऽपहृते दोषो ग्रामभर्तुरनिर्गते ।
विवीतभर्तुस्तु पथि चौरोद्धर्तुरविवीतके ॥

स्वसीम्नि दद्याद् ग्रामस्तु पदं वा यत्र गच्छति ।

पञ्चग्रामी बहिः क्रोशाद् दशग्राम्यथवा पुनः ॥ या० २,२७१-२७२.

५५. सामन्त—A feudatory chief. "Under the Rattas of Saundatti certain high officials are often so called." (Kane : History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. III, p, 1006).

५६. मार्गपाल—According to Kane, guardian of frontiers of passes (Ibid. p. 1001).

५७. दिक्पाल—According to Kane, 'probably officers in charge of the borders of a kingdom' (Ibid. p. 987). Jolly translates it as 'governors of the region' (Nāradaśmṛti Translated by Julius Jolly and published in Vol. XXXIII of Sacred Books of the East, p. 225).

५८. दण्डवासिक—According to Kane, a prākṛta form of *daṇḍapāśika*, an officer in charge of criminal justice (Ibid. p. 986). According to Monier Williams, a village-head (Sanskrit- English Dictionary).

५९. आरक्षक—According to *Vivādaratnākara*, an *āraṁśaka* was 'one appointed to guard a village' and the *Vivādacintāmaṇi* paraphrases it by a vernacular word '*koṭāla*' (which seems to be the same as the modern Kotwal). (*Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra*, p. 381, F.N. to verses 813-814).

६०. दाहिक—Probably the same as *bāhyas* of *Rājatarāṅginī*, who, according to Prof. Kane, were a class of royal servants as distinguished from *antaraṅgas* (History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. III, p. 992).

LAW OF TORTS UNDER THE HINDU LEGAL SYSTEM

117

६१. गोचरे यस्य मुषितं तेन चोरः प्रयत्नतः ।
 गृह्य दाप्योऽन्यथा मोषं पदं यदि न निर्गतम् ॥
 निर्गते तु पदे तस्मान्नष्टेऽन्यत्र निपातिते ।
 सामन्तान् मार्गपालांश्च दिक्पालांश्चैव दापयेत् ॥
 गृहे तु मुषिते राजा दापयेद्दण्डवासिकान् ।
 आरक्षिकान्बाहिकांश्च यदि चोरो न लभ्यते ॥ ना०, प्रकीर्णकं विवादपदम्, ७६-७८.
६२. गृहे तु मुषितं राजा चौरग्राहस्तु दापयेत् ।
 आरक्षकांश्च दिक्पालान्यदि चोरो न लभ्यते ॥
 ग्रामान्तरे हृतं द्रव्यं ग्रामाध्यक्षं प्रदापयेत् ।
 विवीते स्वामिना देयं चोरोद्धर्ताविवीतके ॥ का० ८१३-८१४.
६३. निह्वे भावितो दद्याद् धनं राज्ञे च तत्समम् ।
 मिथ्याभियोगी द्विगुणमभियोगाद्धनं वहेत् ॥ या० २,११.
६४. आसेध्यकाल आसिद्ध आसेधं योऽतिवर्तते ।
 स विनेयोऽन्यथा कुर्वन्नासेद्धा दण्डभागभवेत् ॥ ना०, व्यवहारदर्शनविधिः, ४४.
 आसेधयोग्य आसिद्ध उत्क्रामन्दण्डमर्हति । का० १०५.
 आसेधयेदनासेध्यं स दण्ड्यो न त्वतिक्रमी । का० १०६.
६५. दुर्दृष्टांस्तु पुनर्दृष्ट्वा व्यवहारान्नृपेण तु ।
 सम्याः सजयिनो दण्ड्या विवादाद् द्विगुणं दमम् ॥ या० २,३०५.
 निश्चित्य बहुभिः सार्धं ब्राह्मणैः शास्त्रपारगैः ।
 दण्डयेज्जयिना साकं पूर्वसम्यांस्तु दोषिणः ॥ बृ० ६,२४
६६. पृथक्पृथग्दण्डनीयाः कूटकृत्साक्षिणस्तथा ।
६७. विवादाद् द्विगुणं दण्डं विवास्यो ब्राह्मणः स्मृतः ॥ या० २,८१.
६८. कूटसाक्षिणं सर्वस्वापहारः कार्यः । वि० ५,१७६.
६९. दासाः कर्मकराः शिष्या नियुक्ताः बान्धवास्तथा ।
 वादिनो न च दण्ड्याः स्युः यस्त्वतोऽन्यः स दण्डभाक् ॥ का० १२.
 यो न भ्राता न पिता न पुत्रो न नियोगकृत् ।
 परार्थवादी दण्ड्यः स्याद् व्यवहारेऽपि विब्रुवन् ॥ नारदस्मृति २,२३. = बृ० १,१५२.
७०. दुर्दृष्टे व्यवहारे तु सम्यास्तदण्डमाप्नुयुः ।
 न हि जातु विना दण्डात् कश्चिन्मार्गोऽवतिष्ठते ॥ ना० व्यवहारदर्शनविधिः, ५७.

स्नेहाच्चाज्ञानतो वाऽपि मोहाद्वा लोभतोऽपि वा ।
 यत्र सम्भ्योऽन्यथावादी दण्ड्योऽसम्भ्यस्मृतो हि सः ॥ वृ० १,१०३.
 ये नियुक्तास्तु कार्येषु हन्युः कार्यणि कार्यिणाम् ।
 धनोष्मणा पच्यमानस्तान्निःस्वान्कारयेन्नृपः ॥ मनु ६,२३१.
 अमात्याः प्राड्विवाको वा यत्कुर्युः कार्यमन्यथा ।
 तत्स्वयं नृपतिः कुर्यत्तान्सहस्रं च दण्डयेत् ॥ मनु ६,२३४.
 रागाल्लोभाद् भयाद्वापि स्मृत्यपेतादिकारिणः ।
 सभ्याः पृथक्पृथग्दण्ड्याः विवादाद् द्विगुणं दम् ॥ या० २,४.
 स्नेहादज्ञानतो वाऽपि लोभाद्वा मोहतोऽपि वा ।
 तत्र सम्भ्योऽन्यथावादी दण्ड्योऽसम्भ्यः स्मृतो हि सः ॥ का० ७६.

७१. यदा तु राजानुमत्या दुर्दृष्टत्वं ज्ञातं तदा सर्व एव राजसहिताः सभ्यादयो दण्डनीयाः ।
 —मि० २,३०५.

७२. सम्भ्यदोषात्तु यन्नष्टं देयं सभ्येन तत्तदा ।
 कार्यं तु कार्यिणामेव निश्चितं न विचालयेत् ॥ का० ८१.

७३. कात्यायन पृ० १३१, पादटिप्पणी सं० ८१.

७४. स्वधर्ममपालयन्नादण्ड्यो नामास्ति राज्ञः । वि० ३,८४.
 कूटसाक्षिणां सर्वस्वापहारः कार्यः । उत्कोचजीविनां सभ्यानां च ॥ वि० ५,१७६-१८०.
 पिताचार्यः सुहृन्माता भार्या पुत्रः पुरोहितः ।
 नादण्ड्यो नाम राज्ञोऽस्ति यः स्वधर्मे न तिष्ठति ॥ मनु ८,३३५ ।
 अन्यायवादिनः सभ्यास्तथैवोत्कोचजीविनः ।
 विश्वस्तवञ्चकाश्चैव निर्वास्याः सर्व एव ते ॥ वृ० १,१०७.
 अपि भ्राता सुतोऽर्घ्यो वा श्वशुरो मातुलोऽपि वा ।
 नादण्ड्यो नाम राज्ञोऽस्ति धर्माद्विचलितः स्वकात् ॥ वृ० १,७८.

७५. पुत्रापराधे न पिता न श्ववान् शुनि दण्डभाक् ।
 न मर्कटे च तत्स्वामी तैरेव प्रहितो न चेत् ॥ ना० वाग्दण्डपारुष्यं विवादपदम्, २६.

76. Fleming: Torts, p. 336.

77. Mersey Docks and Harbour Board vs. Coggins, (1947) A.C.1, 18.

७८. प्रभुणा विनियुक्तः सन् भूतको विदधाति यत् ।
 तदर्थमशुभं कर्म स्वामी तत्रापराधनुयात् ॥ वृ० १६,६.

७६. यत्रापवर्तते युग्यं वैगुण्यात्प्राजकस्य तु ।
तत्र स्वामी भवेद्दण्ड्यो हिंसायां द्विशतं दमम् ॥
प्राजकश्चेद् भवेदाप्तः प्राजको दण्डमर्हति । मनु ८, २६३-२६४.
८०. यत्र सारथेरकौशल्यद्यानमन्यथा व्रजति तत्र हिंसायां अशिक्षितसारथ्यनुयोगस्वामी
द्विशतं दण्डं दाप्यः स्यात् ॥ कु० ८, २६३.
८१. चौरहृतं धनमवाप्य सर्वमेव सर्ववर्णभ्यो दद्यात् । अनवाप्य च स्वकोशादेव दद्यात् ॥
वि० ३, ६६-६७.
दातव्यं सर्ववर्णभ्यो राजा चौरहृतं धनम् ।
राजा तदुपयुजानश्चौरस्याप्नोति किल्बिषम् ॥ मनु ८, ४०.
देयं चौरहृतं द्रव्यं राजा जानपदाय तु ।
अददद्धि समाप्नोति किल्बिषं यस्य तस्य तत् ॥ या० २, ३६.
स्तेनेष्वलभ्यमानेषु राजा दद्याद् स्वकाद् धनात् ।
उपेक्षमाणो ह्येनस्वी धर्मादर्थान्च हीयते ॥ ना०, साहसं चतुर्दशं विवादपदम् २६.
चौरापहृतं तु सर्वभ्योऽन्विष्य अर्पणीयम् ।
अलाभे स्वकोशाद्वा अददच्चौरकिल्बिषी स्यात् ॥ बृ० ७, ७०.
स्वदेशे यस्य यत्किञ्चिद्धृतं देयं नृपेण तु ।
गृह्णीयात्तत्स्वयं नष्टं प्राप्तमन्विष्य पार्थिवः ॥
चौरहृतं प्रयत्नेन स्वरूपं प्रतिपादयेत् ।
तदभावे तु मूल्यं स्यादन्यथा किल्बिषी नृपः ॥ का० ८, १५-८, १६.
८२. योऽरक्षन्बलिमादत्ते करं शुल्कं च पार्थिवः ।
प्रतिभागं च दण्डं च स सद्यो नरकं व्रजेत् ॥ मनु ८, ३०७.
83. Aiyangar: Aspects of the Social and Political System of Manusmṛti, p. 180-181.
८४. दण्डो हि सुमहत्तेजो दुर्धरश्चाकृतात्मभिः ।
धर्माद्विचलितं हन्ति नृपमेव सबान्धवम् ॥ मनु ७, २८.
See also Aiyangar's 'Aspects of the Social and Political System of Manusmṛti', p. 178, 184.
८५. कार्षापणं भवेद्दण्ड्यो यत्रान्यः प्राकृतो जनः ।
तत्र राजा भवेद्दण्ड्यो सहस्रमिति धारणा ॥ मनु ८, ३३६.
86. Kasturi Lal Ralia Ram Jain vs. The State of Uttar Pradesh, (1965) 1 S.C.R. 375 at 386.

८७. भेदेनोपेक्षया न्यासं ग्रहीता यदि नाशयेत् ।
 याच्यमानो न दद्याद्वा दाप्यस्तत्सोदयं भवेत् ॥ वृ० ११, १२.
 याच्यमानस्तु यो दात्रा निक्षेपं न प्रयच्छति ।
 दण्ड्यः स राज्ञा दाप्यश्च नष्टे दाप्यश्च तत्समम् ॥ ना०, औपनिधिकं विवादपदम्, ४.
 यस्य दोषेण यत्किञ्चिद्विनाशयेत ह्रियेत वा ।
 तद् द्रव्यं सोदयं दाप्यो दैवराजकृताद्विना ॥ का० ५६४.
 न्यासादिकं परद्रव्यं प्रभक्षितमुपेक्षितम् ।
 अज्ञाननाशितं चैव येन दाप्यः स एव तत् ॥
 भक्षितं सोदयं दाप्यः समं दाप्य उपेक्षितम् ।
 किञ्चिन्न्यूनं प्रदाप्यः स्याद् द्रव्यमज्ञाननाशितम् ॥
 ग्राहकस्य हि यद्दोषान्नष्टं तु ग्राहकस्य तत् ।
 तस्मिन्नष्टे हृते वापि ग्रहीता मूल्यमाहरेत् ॥ का० ५६६, ५६७, ६००.

ELEPHANT AND LION MOTIF : A GLYPHIC DEPICTION

Kiran Kumar Thapalyal

LUCKNOW

The present sealing bearing the elephant-and-lion motif, a motif of considerable artistic merit, comes from a mound in Sanghol, a place situated on the Chandigarh-Ludhiana Road ¹. It is now in the collection of Sri G. B. Sharma, a senior N. C. O. in the Air Force and an enthusiastic collector and connoisseur of antiquities ².

The sealing, which is on a pedastal, represents an elephant trampling a lion with its right foreleg. The various parts of the elephant's body, viz. the fan-like ears, the tusks, the entwined trunk and the short and raised tail, are all depicted with characteristic realism. The animal as a whole is robust and appears to be full of life and vigour. The lion, pressed under the leg of the elephant, has been shown screaming full-mouthed in agony with the tongue protruding outside.

No animal, wild or tame, excepting the bull, has been represented so frequently as these two on ancient Indian art-pieces, be they coins, seals, terracotas or sculpture ³. In fact, from the very early times both these animals have been regarded as embodiments of might and majesty, kingliness and nobility and great men have quite often been compared to them ⁴.

In the present seal the artist has tried, and tried with considerable success, to represent the elephant as the main focus of attention. He has been able to bring out this effect by forcefully depicting not only the grace and majestic form of the animal but also the idea of its being in full action. He has carefully portrayed the figure in such a way as to present a sideview of its entire body and a front-view of atleast three-fourths of its face. The idea of its being in action is forcefully conveyed by the way in which the particular position of the animal's front and hind legs and feet, the swing of its trunk, nay, the entire facial expression and the stiffness in its bristling tail have been depicted.

The elephant and the lion together with a horse and a bull appear in a group on several art-examples ⁵. But representations in which only the

first two appear together are also not unknown. They occur face to face near the feet of a *dvārapāla* figure on the facade of the Ranigumpha cave ⁶. A medallion with these two animals in relief comparable in style to the first century medallions of Bharhut, occurs stamped on the base of a bowl from Taxila ⁷.

There are also a few other examples in art showing these animals in action against each other. On the 'Elephant-rider Lion-slayer' type of coins of Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty the elephant is about to trample a lion while the latter tries to take a bite on one of its forelegs ⁸. But there the aim of the artist was not so much to portray the might of the elephant as to depict the bravery of the king riding it for a lion-hunt.

On the reverse side of the coins of Kalachuri king Jajjaladeva I is portrayed a 'lion with the tail upraised to right jumping on the elephant prostrate below' ⁹.

The enmity between an elephant and a lion is proverbial, perhaps second only to that between the snake and the mongoose. This enmity has its manifestation in a trial between volume and energy, between brute strength and nimbleness. Literature too has many allusions to this trial of strength between these two animals; but the same is mostly partial to the lion; for it is almost invariably that it portrays the latter as triumphant over the former. In a Jātaka story, a lion says to a jackal, 'You are not sprung from a stock that feeds on the elephant it kills. I will kill an elephant and bring its flesh' ¹⁰. The Rāmāyaṇa has several similes alluding to female elephants being terrorised by lions ¹¹. The Raghuvamśa refers to portraits of elephants in the royal palace being attacked by lions in the belief that they are live ones ¹². According to the Nītiśataka, a lion, even though hungry, old and exhausted, would make only the temple of an elephant as its morsel ¹³; it would leave aside a jackal, even though it be lying in its lap, and kill an elephant ¹⁴; even a lion's cub would fall upon the temple of an elephant in rut ¹⁵. In the Kumārasambhava it is the *muktās* (pearls from elephant's temples) falling on the ground from the grooves in the nails of lions that provide to the hunter a clue about the latter's whereabouts ¹⁶. The Pṛthvirājaviṣaya ascribes the inactivity of lions as the cause of a country being terrorised by elephants ¹⁷. Our sealing, on the other hand, depicts not the triumph of a lion over an elephant but just the reverse of it.

ELEPHANT-AND-LION MOTIF: A GLYPHIC DEPICTION

123

It is quite common with the numismatists to interpret motifs on coins as suggestive of the achievements and likings of past kings. Thus, the 'Tiger-slayer' coins of Samudragupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty have been interpreted as suggesting his 'conquests in the valley of Ganges with its swampy and forested regions which were the abode of the royal Bengal tiger' ¹⁸; while the 'Lion-slayer' type of coins of Chandragupta Vikramāditya II has been taken as celebrating 'his conquest of the region of western Mālva and Saurāṣṭra or modern Kāthiāwāḍ which is even to this day the abode of lions in India' ¹⁹. More relevant in the context of our sealing is the fact that the depiction of a lion trampling an elephant on the Kalachuri King Jajjaladeva's coins has been taken by Prof. Mirashi to represent the king's victory over the contemporary Ganga king who bore the title of 'the lord of elephants' ²⁰. It has been suggested that 'a lion trampling an elephant' was a general symbol for the fight of Indian rulers with foreign invaders during the Rajput period ²¹. The question is : can the depiction on our sealing be taken to present the other side of the picture ? If the answer to this question be in the affirmative, this would perhaps be a lone example of its type.

There is yet another more definite suggestion. We have seen that the lion trampling an elephant on the Kalachuri King Jajjaladeva's coins has been interpreted as symbolising his victory over the Ganga king. Could then the depiction on our sealing be taken as symbolising some victory of the Gangas over a people whose *lāñchana* (symbol) was a lion ? It is well-known that the dynastic symbol of the Viṣṇukunḍins, the Pallavas and the Kadambas was a lion ²². No doubt, it would be a far cry from the kingdom of the Gangas in Mysore to district Ludhiana in Punjab; but examples of South Indian records being found in far North are not unknown ²³. But this is at the most a mere conjecture; for there is no positive proof that the sealing in question ever had any connection with some royal personage.

From the practical point of view, a lion being trampled by an elephant is as much possible as an elephant being mauled by a lion. Therefore, the possibility of our sealing being merely the representation of a purely natural phenomenon cannot be negated. Be whatever it may, it cannot be gainsaid that the sealing in question is a very fine specimen of the depiction of elephant and lion figures in action.

As regards the probable date of the sealing, in the absence of palaeographic and stratigraphic evidence, one has to fall back merely on the art-style or typology of the find. The two animals generally have been depicted in ancient Indian art with great skill and feeling and as such examples of their artistic delineation are to be found in the art of almost every age, from Mauryan period onwards²⁴. However, taking into consideration the shape, size and the delineation, we are inclined to ascribe it to the late Gupta period (c. 6th century A. D.) or even to a slightly later age.

References

1. Sanghol is also known as Ūchā Pīṇḍ. It is twenty-five miles west of Chandigarh and about six miles from Morinda Railway Station on the Ambala-Nangal line. The site seems to have been occupied since the proto-historic times. This information about the location of the site we owe to Sri G. B. Sharma. Cf. also Tribune, Sept. 28, 1968.
2. We are indebted to Sri G. B. Sharma for his having kindly supplied a photograph of the sealing for the purpose of publication.
3. With the exception of the Harappan art, in which lion does not figure at all.
4. Another such animal is bull.
5. See Agrawal, V. S. : *Chakradhvaja*, pp. 60-63. Cf. also the author's article 'A clay tablet in Lucknow Museum: An Artistic and Religious Study', *Purātattva* (Bulletin of the Indian Archaeological Society), No. 1 (1967-68) pp. 90-92.
6. See Shah, U. P. : *Studies in Jain Art*. Benares, 1955, pl. XXX. fig. 81.
7. Marshall, J. : *Taxila*, Vol. II. p. 435, no. 244.
Ibid. Vol. III. pl. 131, no. 242.
8. Altekar, A. S. : *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 195, pl. XIII, nos. 1-2. Cf. also *Bayana Hoard of the Gupta Gold Coins*, pl. XXX. figs. 1-4,
9. Mirashi, V. V. : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. IV, pt. 1. p. CLXXXV, pl. A, nos. 5-6

ELEPHANT-AND-LION MOTIF: A GLYPHIC DEPICTION

125

10. Jataka no. 335.
11. Sundarakāṇḍa, 17.22, 28.1, 36 37.
12. Raghuvamśa, 16. 16:

चित्रद्विपाः पद्मवनावतीर्णाः करेणुभिर्दन्तमृणालभङ्गाः ।
नखाङ्कुशाघातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरब्धसिंहप्रहृतं वहन्ति ॥

13. Nitiśatakam of Bhartṛhari, Śloka 13:

धुत्क्षामोऽपि जराकृशोऽपि शिथिलप्रायोऽपि कष्टां दशा-
मापन्नोऽपि विभिन्नदीधितिरेपि प्राणेषु गच्छत्स्वपि ।
मत्तेभेन्द्रविभिन्नकुम्भकवलग्रासैकवदस्पृहः
किं जीर्णं तृणमस्ति मानमहतामग्रेसरः केसरी ॥

14. Ibid. , Śloka 36:

‘.....सिंहो जम्बुकमङ्कमागतमपि त्यक्त्वा निहन्ति द्विपम्’ ।

15. Ibid. , Śloka 97:

सिंहशिशुरपि निपतति मदमलिनकपोलभित्तिषु गजेषु ।

Cf. also, C.II., IV, p. 140:

मत्तेभकुम्भमण्डलविदारणकेसरिकिशोरैरिव ।

16. Kumārasaṁbhavam, I. 6.

17. Pṛthvīrājaviṣaya, Bibliotheca Indica, New Series, no. 1420, 1915, p. 24:

त्वया हरे तापसतामुपेत्य सख्ये गृहीते हरिणैरिदानीम् ।
निवासभूमिर्मम पुष्करं तदास्कन्दि मातङ्गमहाभयेन ॥

- 18.. Mookerji, R.K.: *The Gupta Empire*, 2nd. ed. (1952), p. 35. Cf. also Ibid. p. 55.

19. Ibid., p. 55.

20. Mirashi, V.V. : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. 4, p. cxxv, f.n.

21. Awasthi, A. B. L. : *Indian Nationalism*, p. 240. Cf. also Sharma, Dasharatha, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 36, f. n. 26:

मातङ्गसङ्गरे यस्मिन् वीरसिंहेऽस्तमागते ।
अपरागोज्जुतापश्च विधिना प्रापि कर्कशः ॥

22. Moraces, G. , *The Kadamba Kula*, Bombay, 1931, p. 37.

23. The Patoda Grant of Chalukya King Vinayaditya was found in Gurdaspur, Punjab. (I. A. XI p. 240)

24. Realistic depictions of elephant-figures are to be met with on the Harappan seals: lion-figures are, however, conspicuous by their absence in the Harppan art.



(By the courtesy of Shri B.G. Sharma) .

INDRA IN EARLY LITERATURE AND ART

K. D. Bajpai

SAUGOR

Indra, the national god of India, was the most eulogised deity of the Vedic Pantheon. He is celebrated in more than 250 R̥g-Vedic hymns. This speaks of his superiority among gods. It was in the fitness of things that in the later times he was designated as Devarāja.

The early Vedic Literature regards Indra as a thunder-god, the conqueror of demons of darkness. He was also the battle-chief of gods. Various Vedic hymns in praise of Indra indicate that he was the deity *par excellence* of the atmosphere, pervading the entire etherial region, bringing light and rain to the people. His physical exploits are eloquently spoken of by the Vedic seers. He was given an anthropomorphic form, full of prowess, beauty and dignity. Thunder-bolt (*vajra*) was his weapon, by which he smashed his opponents. Bow and arrow and a staff (*Indradhvaja*) are also associated with him. In some of the vedic hymns Indra is said to sit in a car drawn by horses. The Airāvata (cloud) elephant as Indra's *vāhana* is a much later conception.

Indra was the drinker of *somas* and consumer of flesh of bulls and buffalos. He was regarded as the chief representative of gods of various Vedic sacrifices. His wife Indrāṇī is mentioned in the early and late Vedic literature. Her other name was Śachi.

A number of gods are said to be closely associated with Indra. Special mention may be made of Maruts, Agni, Varuṇa and Vāyu. Less frequently he is also coupled with Soma, Bṛhaspati, Pūṣan and Viṣṇu. About Viṣṇu it is said that he sometimes assisted Indra in his battles with the Asuras.

Several myths are found in the Vedic literature regarding the origin of Indra and his nature.

Being the supreme deity of the atmospheric regions and endowed with unusual ability and power, he became the centre of the highest adoration. People offered him unstinted regards and paid their homage to him with a view to obtaining from him, as a reward, protection from evil forces,

and prosperity. Indra destroyed Vṛtra the powerful demon of evil forces, and several others who were a constant terror to the people at large. The heroic deeds of Indra were sung by the Vedic people¹.

Indra continued to enjoy the highest position among gods and men for a pretty long time. After about the 3rd century B. C. there was a marked change in his position. This change was mainly due to the rise of the Vaiṣṇava cult, which came to regard Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa as the supreme deity. In the Vaiṣṇava literature, especially the Purāṇas, we find a distinct change in the position of Indra. Viṣṇu and his incarnation Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa were installed in place of Indra. In the Puranic literature there is an interesting episode describing the struggle for supremacy between Indra and Kṛṣṇa. In the Śūrasena *janapada*, like several other regions of the country, Indra was worshipped as the god of rains. There was a deep-rooted common belief that it was due to the seasonal worship of Indra that rains poured down from clouds, which made the earth yield crops and grass for men and their cattle.

The worship of Indra was known as *Indramaha*, which comprised elaborate celebrations in honour of Indra's staff (*Indradhvaja*). This normal worship of Indra was discarded by Kṛṣṇa, who pleaded for the worship of Govardhana mountain. The residents of Vraja followed Kṛṣṇa's advice. According to the Puranic legend, Indra was greatly enraged at his insult. He caused heavy downpours of rain on the Vrajamaṇḍala. But all this was in vain. Having miserably failed in his endeavours to cow down Kṛṣṇa, Indra approached him and felt sorry for what he had done. Kṛṣṇa was pleased and pardoned Indra.

The intention of the Purāṇa writers was to humble the Vedic god Indra and to offer his exalted position to Lord Kṛṣṇa. In the Gupta period of Indian history we clearly notice that this purpose of the Purāṇa-writers was fulfilled and Indra now receded to the background.

The elaborate celebrations of Indra-worship (*Indramaha*), according to the Mahābhārata, originated during the time of Uparicara Vasu, the ruler of Chedi. This king was awarded by Indra a bamboo staff which was fixed on the ground and was profusely decorated. It was called *Indradhvaja*. According to the Bṛhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira (Ch. 43) Viṣṇu gave a *dhvaja* to Indra in order to frighten the Asuras. It was in honour of this *dhvaja* that the worship of Indra originated in an elaborate form.

Before the Gupta period the worship of Indra was very popular in northern India. From the western U. P. and Rajasthan several *Yūpa* pillars have been discovered. These were installed to commemorate the Vedic sacrifices. Such pillars are also known from several sites in the South-east Asia.

The early figures of Indra in human form are known from various parts of India. They, alongwith the symbols on a number of coins and seals of various ancient *janapadas* representing the *Kalpavṛkṣa*, *Vajra*³ and *Indradhvaja*, furnish an eloquent proof to the existence of Indra worship in a wide area of the country.

On the copper coins of the Pāṇcāla dynasty, assignable to a period between 150 B. C. and 200 A. D., we notice the representation of several deities, such as Indra, Agni, Sūrya, Phālguni, Bhūmi and Bhadrā. The coins of king Indramitra show on the reverse the figure of Indra standing either on a pedestal or inside an arched temple. The coins of two other rulers of that dynasty, viz., Jayagupta and Jayamitra, also show the figure of Indra.

The Pāṇcāla coins are significant for an appraisal of the early iconographic conception of god Indra.

The early plastic representations of Indra are quite interesting. Ancient Indian artists generally portrayed Indra as the king of gods. This is borne out by the well known Bhājā relief⁴ of the 2nd century B.C. Indra is shown here in the full glory of a king, riding on his mighty Airāvata. He wears a gorgeous turban, holds a goad and is attended by a figure holding up a banner. The entire composition of the scene is remarkable for its magnificence befitting the royal parade of the lord of gods.

In the Sāncī Museum there is a stone sculpture (no. 2778) carved on both sides depicting an elephant-rider. The present writer identifies it with Indra seated on Airāvata. Indra holds the *aṅkuśa*. He wears a heavy headgear and double ear rings. Behind him a male attendant is shown holding a *makaradhvaja*. This indicates that the attendant is Kāmadeva, the god of love. The back of the sculpture shows a similar device. Here Kāmadeva is holding the five arrows (*Pañca īśu*), three of which are clearly seen. The *ikṣudaṇḍa* (sugarcane staff) is surmounted by a *nandipada* symbol. The elephant is well caparisoned, as in the case of the Bhājā relief.

Several important statues of Indra of the period between the first and fifth centuries A. D. are known from Gāndhāra, Mathurā, Amarāvāī and several other places. In the Mathurā Museum there is a unique image of Indra showing him in the *Pañcendra* form. Herein from the central figure of Indra other figurines are shown emerging. The cylindrical headdress (*kirīṭa*) of Indra becomes a common feature during the period. Sometimes a third eye is shown in the centre of the forehead of Indra.

In the Buddhist iconography of Indra he is shown, along with Brahmā as an attendant to the Buddha. Occasionally he is shown paying homage to the Buddha usually accompanied by *Pañcaśikha gandharva*. Indra is frequently shown holding vajra (*Vajrapāṇi*) and the nectar flask (*amṛta-ghaṭa*). The conception of Indra in the Buddhist iconography differs a good deal from his Vedic and post-Vedic Hindu character.

References

1. For the Indra myths and his supreme position See A.A. Macdonell, *The Vedic Mythology*, (Varanasi, 1963), pp.54-66.
2. For details see *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* (ch. 72-76), *Brahma Purāṇa* (ch. 187-8), *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (V. 10-12), *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X.27) and *Padma Purāṇa* (327.181-217).
3. On the ancient *janapada* coins of Ujjain, Eran, Kauśāmbī etc. and also on the coins of the Sātavāhanas, a 'cross-and-ball' symbol frequently occurs. This symbol has been called the 'Ujjain Symbol' by a majority of scholars. But I feel that it is the *Vajra* symbol associated with Indra. It occurs in its simple form on the coins of the western Kṣaharātas, Bhūmaka and Nahatāna, The 'tree-in-railing' symbol, so common in ancient Indian coins, stands for the *Kalpavṛkṣa*.
4. Cf. the views of V.S. Agrawala, who thinks that the relief depicts the visit of king Māndhātā to the Utatrakuru country, *Indian Art* (Varanasi, 1965), pp. 191-92.

HUMAN REMAINS FROM KAUSĀMBĪ

S. S. Sarkar

CALCUTTA

Introduction

A short and incomplete report of the human remains discovered from Kauśāmbī excavations has been published after a span of about 9 years (Gupta, Dutta and Basu, 1966). There are no photographs, no sketches or drawings of the skulls or any bones. Nothing is known of the total number of individuals represented by the skeletal remains though the field diary of Mr. P. C. Datta (Gupta *et al*) would have been helpful for this estimate. Every bit of bone is helpful in this respect. An approximate estimate of the total population present in a particular area is helpful for the reconstruction of its civil condition.

The Human Remains

Gupta, Datta and Basu have reported upon five crania, three mandibles, one humerus and three femora. Two of both the crania and the femora are said to belong to females and the rest to males. Size and robusticity of bones are not always reliable criteria of sexing. In the following comparison the sex factor has been taken into account with reservation.

A careful analysis of the skeletal remains, as given in the field diary, shows the following least approximate number of skeletons in each layer.

Layers	No. of skeletons
IV & V	1 at least
III	6 at least
II	No bones
I	2 at least
Total	: 9 at least

Thus the total number of individuals represented by the human remains comprises nine adults. Mandible No. 137 has been identified as

belonging to a young adult on the evidence of the unerupted III molars but it may be an adult as well. No other bones belonging to any young adult have been reported.

Excavations

A few words may be said here about the excavations. It appears from the published field diary that four trenches, G 3, H 3, S D 3 and F1 were dug but there is no mention of these trenches in the main report by Sharma (1960). *Śyenaciti* may probably belong to the trench S D 3.

It is beyond the ability of the present writer to go into the details of the *Śyenaciti* of the *Puruṣamedha*, but some incongruities in respect of the skeletal remains are worth noting.

(a) Sharma (p.95-96) mentions that certain arrangements of cranial fragments "clearly reveals a definite and deliberate procedure". He refers to a brick enclosure around skull No. 1, which is not evident from Plate 37A. The skull is lain with the major protion of norma lateralis on the soil and a large fragment of the occiput and the base is missing. Sharma writes that "a course of bricks was laid covering the skull and the bones", but there is no sketch or photograph in support of it. The presence of "mud, mortar and clod-bricks" filling the interspaces around the skull probably indicate that the brick-cover on the skull was not completely sealed or it might have been broken in course of time. In any case, a photograph would have been a valuable attestation.

(b) Similarly the brick association of skull No. 106 is not shown with the help of any photograph or drawing. Its locus is also unknown except that it occurs in Layer III.

(c) "The jaws were carefully set amidst bricks" but there is no proof whatsoever. Figures A and B of Plate 38 do not show any brick enclosure. There is no indication of layer in the photograph.

(d) Sharma (p.96) mentions traces of "clear incision marks" on some bones but there is no mention of the same by Gupta *et al.*

(e) The most important part of the discovery (?) by Sharma is the V-shaped arrangement (p.96) of the long bones (Plate 36B). The plate shows 2 femora, 3 tibiae and 1 fibula. They indicate the presence of more than one person since one can associate the two femora and the two tibiae to one person and the third tibia to a second individual. On the

other hand, there is the possibility of the six bones belonging to six persons as well. This could have been clarified by laboratory study which Gupta *et al* have not attempted.

But how were the bones arranged in such ways as claimed by Sharma? Were these bones severed from the body, limb by limb, so that they could be placed in the 'V' or "Double V" form as reported by Sharma? Similarly, the skull was perhaps severed from the head to be placed "under a course of bricks". And the jaw detached from the head, which was probably in flesh, to be "carefully set amidst bricks." Isolated crania are already well known in the Indus Valley, the best example being that of the Chanhudaro skull. But the latter was found in known archaeological setting. Severed limb bones should display cut marks and Sharma's claim of "clear incision marks" finds no mention by Gupta *et al*. This is where a co-ordinated work between archaeology and anthropology is called for.

At the same time it is difficult to follow Sharma's report, which shows an undue emphasis on *Śyenaciti*. Its archaeological attestation depends on more systematic digging than on textual references, so elaborated by Sharma. To the present writer the whole area appears to have been littered with fallen bricks from the wall shown in Plate 12 with the *Śyenaciti* in the foreground. Sharma (p.88) mentions of "triangular, rectangular, five-sided and six-sided" bricks but has not provided any drawing or photograph of the three types of bricks, namely the three, five and six-sided ones. These, however, could have been naturally produced out of the fallen bricks through water action, superincumbent pressure of the soil and various such other agencies. They might have been also artificially made to suit a particular purpose in construction. The hypothetical restoration of *Śyenaciti* in Fig. 16 shows a wide gap of about 5 feet (E-W) between two masses of fallen bricks—a smaller one to the north and a larger mass to the south, the rounded borders of the latter showing denser mass of fallen bricks. It might have occurred with the collapse of a wall from its foundation whereby the wall falls flat as an uneven floor and the foundation mortar is exposed. The skeletal remains are strewn in between the sparse fallen bricks near about the southern end and probably indicate that they were thrown therein after the collapse of the wall. The skeletons might be victims of a raid or warfare. There is no archaeological data whatsoever to prove the identity of the *Śyenaciti* but the many iron arrow-heads and javelins do not rule out the possibility of warfare or raids.

Ethnic Affinities

The skeletal remains from Kauśāmbī, according to Gupta *et al*, belong to a tall, mesocranial and platyrrhine stock. The robusticity of the skeletons is noteworthy (Table 2) and this associated with the above characters of the crania, appears to recall the physical type found at Brahmagiri (Sarkar, 1960). This will be evident from the comparative tables given below.

TABLE I
Cranial Indices compared

Locality	Indices	Mean
1. Brahmagiri *	78.21, 79.13, 80.75, 83.52	80.40
2. Kauśāmbī	78.53, 78.70, 79.77	79.00
3. Taxilā	72.40, 75.68, 78.01, 81.61	76.93
4. Pāṭaliputra	73.54, 73.56	—
5. Sialkot	71.11	—
6. Bayana	71.35	—

*Index 64. 22 excluded.

TABLE 2
Some Measurement of Femora and Statures estimated (in mm.)

	Brahmagiri	Kauśāmbī
1. Femur Length	434, 468	457, 459, 515
2. Stature (estmd.)	1929(5' 5"), 1693 (5' 8"), 1591 (5' 4")	ml 595 (5' 4"), 1843 (6' 2")
3. Med. Shaft Circumf.	85, 93, 94, 104	not measured
4. Pilastric Index	100, 103, 45, 112, 142, 31	96.15, 196.90, 116
5. Platymetric Index	66.67, 76.67, 79.71, 104.84	75, 83.87, 86.21

Meso-brachycranial indices appear to be present at Brahmagiri, Kauśāmbī and Taxila, the former two seem to be closer in respect of the total means, 80.40 for Brahmagiri and 79.00 for Kauśāmbī. In the absence of any other data and photographs further comparisons are not possible.

The human remains from the Dharmarājika *stūpa* at Taxila, which was sacked by the White Hunas, also show two crania with indices of 78.01 and 81.61, the latter was suspected to belong to a White Huna (Guha, Sarkar and Basu, 1951). At Kauśāmbī archaeological evidences relating to the Hunas are claimed to have been recovered during the excavations of the Ghoṣītarāma monastery, and Sharma was able to ascribe a type of iron arrow-head to the Hunas. The present writer (1960) identified the meso-brachycranial skulls from Brahmagiri as belonging to the Scytho-Iranian type. The same stock also appears to be present at Kauśāmbī. They stand in sharp contrast to the skulls found at Pāṭaliputra (Sarkar, 1967), Bayana and Sialkot, the cranial indices of which vary between 71.11 and 73.56 (Table 1). The Kauśāmbī skeletal remains should be further examined in the light of suggestions given above.

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2. Gupta, P.; Dutta, P.C. & Basu, A. 1966. The human remains of the *Śyenaciti* of the *Puruṣamedha* and other trenches from the historical site at Kauśāmbī. *J. Ind. Anth. Soc.*, 1. 101-118.
3. Sarkar, S. S. 1960, Human skeletal Remains from Brahmagiri. *Bull. Dept. Anth.* IX. 5-25,
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THE MANDALIN FROM KANGRI

These brachycephalic skulls appear to be present at Kashmir and Tashkent, the former two seem to be closer in respect of the skull measurements, 88.10 for Kashmir and 79.10 for Tashkent. The difference of only about 10 mm and the photographic further comparison are not negligible.

The skulls from the Kashmir region at Jammu, which were collected by Mr. White House, also show two groups with distinct differences. The first group was supposed to belong to a White House (Kashmir) and the second to a White House (Tashkent). At Kashmir, the skulls are claimed to have been recovered during the excavations of the Chishtian monastery and Shams was also in the same type of non-arched to the frontal. The present writer (1950) identified the meso-brachycephalic skulls from Kashmir as belonging to the Scythian type. The same skull also appears to be present at Kandahar. They stand in sharp contrast to the skulls found at Peshawar (Sarkar, 1951), Dargah and Sialkot, the skulls of which vary between 71.11 and 73.50 (Table I). The Kashmiri skulls remain should be further examined in the light of suggestions given above.

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KĀLIDĀSA AND NATURE

K. Krishnamoorthy

DHARWAR

The traditional attitude to Kālidāsa's poetry is best illustrated in the remark of an anonymous Sanskrit critic, found in the anthology, Subhāṣitaratnaśoṣa:

“After so many years and years of study, it seems as if I have at last found a sort of entrance into the deep and bright stream of Kālidāsa's Muse.”¹

The attitude of modern scholars is neither so modest nor so reverential. For example, Prof. P. V. Kane finds Kālidāsa to suffer in comparison with Bhavabhūti:

“In his descriptions of Nature and human feelings, Bhavabhūti is entirely free from conventions. The attitude of other Sanskrit poets (not excluding even Kālidāsa) is generally conventional. They concern themselves chiefly with the cooing of the cuckoo, the mango blossom, the exciting influence of moonlight, the Aśoka and Bakula trees etc.”²

There is a general sense in which the very stuff of poetry is convention. As J. L. Lowes puts it: ‘the very essence of poetic truth is accepted illusion. And illusion, in turn, grows inevitably out of the limitations of the poet's medium. An illusion to which we consent, with all that that implies, is the taproot of the conventions of poetry’.³ In this sense Bhavabhūti is as much conventional as Kālidāsa. But the intended contrast implies that Kālidāsa's treatment of nature is only hackneyed unlike Bhavabhūti's which is strikingly original.

On the other hand, a fulsome compliment is paid by A. W. Ryder to Kālidāsa's treatment of nature:—

“Rarely has a man walked our earth who observed the phenomena of living nature as accurately as he, though his accuracy was of course that of the poet, not that of the scientist. Much is lost to us who grow up among other animals and plants; yet we can

appreciate his "bee-black hair", his aśoka tree that "sheds his blossoms in a rain of tears", his river wearing a sombre veil of mist.

Although her reeds seem hands that clutch the dress to hide her charms;

his picture of the day-blooming water-lily at sunset:

"The water-lily closes, but
With wonderful reluctance;
As if it troubled her to shut
Her door of welcome to the bee."

Both these views appear to miss the essence of Kālidāsa's poetry. Though differing in judgement, they agree in considering the stray descriptions of natural objects by Kālidāsa as fit material to justify an inference regarding his genius. This tendency is noticed among other opinions too which compare Kālidāsa's treatment of nature with that of English poets like Wordsworth and Keats. Whether we regard Kālidāsa as a dilettante court-poet or as a high-priest of Nature, eitherway, we would miss the central unity running through all the poet's writings. It has been said that 'God is a circle whose centre is everywhere.' The saint goes to the centre, while the poet to the ring where everything comes round again. Kālidāsa's works are all of a piece and are, in the true Indian tradition, averse to divisions like the natural, human and supernatural.

II

Kālidāsa might have followed poetic conventions (*kavi-samayas*) in matters of detail; but he started anew traditions in very literary form he attempted. Kālidāsa is the only poet in Sanskrit who conceived of nature symbolically though, as the central theme of most of his works, poetic as well as dramatic. Viewed in this light the cloud becomes the hero of his poem *Meghadūta*, a friend, philosopher and guide of Indra in heaven and Yakṣa on earth, one who represents kindness personified inasmuch as uniting parted couples in love, whether sentient or otherwise. The range of this metaphor is infinite. It can embrace the poetic aspects of the sun, moon and stars, wind and rain, river and sea, hill and dale, tree and creeper, flower and fruit, birds and animals, fairies and spirits. They pulsate with

life and combine in a higher harmony of love which is more spiritual than sensual. Kālidāsa's poetic world is bathed in beauty and clothed in the rainbow raiment of romance. At the same time, it suggests how the Truth of Vedānta is seized in terms of beauty by the piercing imagination of a poet-sage.

In the imagination of Kālidāsa, every river is bound with the sea in wedlock; every tree and plant awaits a mate. The mountains and forests are the bosom friends of the cloud; the wind and vernal blooms confederates of Love. The joy of life is felt as much in anxious anticipation of love as in its fulfilment, nay, more in suffering and sacrifice for the sake of the beloved than in indulgence. Human nature is so inextricably interlinked with nature. To be blind to this joy is no virtue, and to participate in it no vice. Even God, as Kālidāsa conceives, is a devotee of pure love, ever in union with his spouse, though an enemy of brute passion. Even the supposedly juvenile work of Kālidāsa, 'The Procession of the Seasons', unrolls the pageantry of nature only in terms of imagination aglow with the first experience of love. It reveals the 'lilies and langours of virtue' without hint of the 'raptures and roses of vice.'

III

It looks as though Kālidāsa regarded that the deep mystery and meaning of nature could be felt by the human heart only at three ascending levels of consciousness, viz., sensual attraction, ideal sentiment and spiritual enlightenment. The first fascination has its raptures and frenzies; it becomes purer only by shedding the dross of sensuality in the fire of separation where love is valued for its own sake and has no ulterior purpose. But the final phase is reached only by spiritual discipline (*tapasyā*). All the works of Kālidāsa can be aptly classed on this basis. The poem *Rtusamhāra* and the drama *Mālavikā* represent delineation of nature in human terms at the first level of love. If the poem confines itself to the ecstasy of it, the drama also highlights the complexities and conflicts incidental to it. The characters here are just human, at ground level. The poem *Meghadūta* and the drama *Vikramorvaśīya* represent delineation of nature in human terms at the second level of love. If the poem embodies the unalloyed form of love-in-separation, the drama shows also the stages of transition from the first level to the second. The main characters in both are super-human or semidivine.

The epic *Kumārasambhava* and the play *Śākuntala* represent nature in human terms at the third and highest level of love which is spiritual. The

spiritual discipline undergone by both Śiva and Pārvatī before they could wed, the imperfection of the first and the inadequacy of even the second level of love are brought home to us in the story of Kāma burnt down but revived in a bodiless state in the epic. All the characters here are divine, the very mountain Himālaya too, symbolic of sublime majesty and might of will.

Kālidāsa's account of the physical traits of the mountain shades off imperceptibly into the divine heights of his personality. To realise the full beauty and grandeur of the epic, one must be soaked in the meaningful myths of ancient India as Kālidāsa himself was. In one flash, the poem reveals the identity of absolute truth, goodness and beauty in the union of Śiva and Pārvatī brought about by sages. True to the dramatic form, *Śākuntala* presents this very message in the union of Duṣyanta, Śākuntalā and Bharata by the efforts of sages like Kaṇva and Mārīca on the spiritual plane. The characters once again are semi-divine and we have enlightened sages at the very centre. Kālidāsa's art reaches its apex here in identifying Śākuntalā herself as the fairest flower of the penance-grove and Duṣyanta as a bee that cannot shed his fickleness until he breathes the rarefied spiritual air of heaven. The imagery of Kālidāsa relating to the bee and the flower recur regularly in almost every significant scene of the play, but Kālidāsa concludes with the observation that only the works of the learned who have drunk of the founts of scriptural truth deserve recognition (*sarasvatī śrutimahatām mahīyatām*).

The epic *Raghuvamśa*, with its galaxy of heroes and heroines, is equally in line with the scheme outlined above. It begins with a glowing picture of *tapasyā* on the part of Dilīpa and his queen, which alone can ensure the rise of great men like Raghu, Aja and Rāma. The loves of Aja and Rāma are the highest expressions of the second level of consciousness mentioned above. The poem concludes with the tragic consequences of the passionate and licentious life of Agnivarṇa, the last of the Raghus. A poet who began with the highest note could only end his poem thus with a tragic note.

Such an analysis is in strict consonance with the basic principles of criticism developed in India by the Dhvani theorists. To take out of context single lines or verses about the cuckoo or *āsoka* and to judge them as conventional or otherwise is to lose sight of the unifying *rasa*. As seen above, Kālidāsa is most original and pre-eminent in his delineation of *Śṛṅgāra-rasa*. In its context, has not the bird *cakravāka* itself in the

Śākuntala become a symbolic image of the heroine's separation to come? Is not the *Aśoka* tree a living character almost in the play *Mālavikāgāmitra*, testifying to the princely purity of the heroine by blossoming within five nights of her touch and by bringing about the union of the lovers after removing all but insuperable obstacle in the way, viz., the rival's jealousy? We need not multiply instances. From the point of view of *rasa-dhvani*, every detail relating to nature in Kālidāsa can be shown to be full of infinite shades of significance. His roseate bowers and ever-blooming flowers are not pointers to just a well-regulated garden-plot; when Kālidāsa saw them, his heart had beaten and he had lived.

One example to show the janus-faced art of Kālidāsa in describing nature may be given here. It is from the XIII Canto of the *Raghuvamśa* where the charming confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā are being described by Rāma to Sītā as they are flying back to Ayodhya:—

Oh faultless Sita mine, of faultless limbs,
 See here the holy Ganga's clear wave
 With Jumna intermixed of waters blue.
 See Ganga's current broken by her rival.
 It seems a pearly necklace here that's woven
 With emeralds covering it in splendour mixed
 And there a lotus chaplet white, set in
 With lotuses all blue at intervals;
 And there again, a row of flamingoes
 From Manasa, midst geese of dark grey wings.
 Seems here like grounds with whitest sandal smeared
 And bearing ornamental leaves, black-sandaled;
 And yonder there, all beautiful, equals
 The splendour of the moonlight 'neath the shade
 By darkness lying there variegated;
 And yonder there, it looks like streaks all white
 Of clouds autumnal that midst them betray
 A little sky to view thro' openings clear;
 And here it looks a part of Śiva's form,
 Anointed pure with sacred ash all o'er,
 And adorned too with snakes all black; ah thus
 The merging glory of the waters two.⁵

It won't do if we admire or criticize black and white presented here as separate disconnected pictures. The merging waters have called forth from the poet the images of a pearly necklace, a lotus chaplet, a flight of birds, ornamental leaves, moonlight and shade, the clouds and Lord Śiva himself. The *sahṛdayas* will see the thread of imagination that knits them all, and feel the whole truth in a moment of beauty.

If Kālidāsa had not solved the Great Equation, how could he have connected the birds and the lotuses and Śiva? What convention would have helped him to do that?

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1. Cf. 'kathañcit Kālidāsasya kālena bahunā mayā/
avagādheva gambhīrā masrṇaughā sarasvatī.
2. P.V.Kane's edition of Uttararāmacaritam, Introduction, p. X.
3. J.L.Lowes, Convention and Revolt in Poetry, p. 30
4. A. W. Ryder *Śākuntala and other writings of Kālidāsa*, pp.xi-xii.
5. Translation, Griffith's.

SCOPE AND BASIS OF LAKṢAṆA IN THE NYĀYA-VAIŚEṢIKA SCHOOLS

V. Vardachari

TIRUPATI

The method of investigation followed by the ancient Indian Philosophers consists of three parts¹, namely enumeration (*Uddeśa*),² definition (*lakṣaṇa*)³, and investigation (*parīkṣā*)⁴. Much significance is attached to this method, particularly by the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* philosophers who give a very elaborate analysis of the concept of Definition or *Lakṣaṇa*.

The word *lakṣaṇa* is derived from the root *lakṣ*⁵ which means to see and to mark. It is formed by the addition of the suffix *lyuṭ* (-n) in the sense of instrument⁶. This word is used in the philosophical treatises in the sense of mark which is the second meaning of the root *lakṣ*.

An object which is at first enumerated is taken up to be defined. When it is to be defined what is sought to be shown is that it has a mark with it. This mark will have to be shown to be present in that object and be of help in getting the object identified. In practice, it is found that an object which is taken up for definition is found to possess more than one mark. All such marks are not always peculiar to the object under investigation; they are also found in other objects. For instance, a piece of stone and a piece of chalk have mark, such as weight, touch, colour, size and so on in common. They are, however, different also in several ways. The piece of stone has more weight than the piece of chalk. The touch of the chalk may not be as rough as that of stone. The particular colour of the stone may not have close semblance to that of the chalk. The same holds good in the case of the size of both. It will, therefore, be necessary to take note of these varieties in each of the marks and mention them while defining that object. A definition, which contains the mention of more than one specific mark which a particular object possesses will rather be more descriptive in its content than be useful in defining that object. Kaṇāda's definitions of earth⁷ and water⁽⁸⁾ serve to illustrate this.

A mark, which is shared by more than one object, will, therefore, be unhelpful in giving the exact nature of the particular object having it. This was realised by the ancient writers who defined *lakṣaṇa* as the characteristic feature which would determine the real nature (*tattva*) of the object to be defined (*lakṣya*). *Lakṣaṇa* is also described as the feature which is of a nature that is not common to other objects¹⁰. It has, therefore, come to be taken as the specific feature which exists only in the particular object or class of objects and does not exist in those which are dissimilar to it¹¹. In other words, its function is stated to set aside all those objects which are other than the object to be defined from getting the definition applied to them¹². Therefore, differentiation (*vyāvartakatva*) is the purpose which is sought to be served by a definition.

There is another purpose which a definition is expected to achieve and that is the specific designation (*vyavahāra*)¹³. A thing is called chalk because it is chalk. The reference which is made to it as chalk is because it has the features of the chalk. Vyomaśiva¹⁴, Śrīdhara¹⁵ and Udayana¹⁶ refer to this aspect of a definition. Vyomaśiva¹⁷ applies invariably this principle while explaining the definitions of *padārthas* and their internal divisions. It may be said that in a way this aspect of definition is somewhat akin to that found in Western logic¹⁸.

The Indian logicians have also taken care to see that a definition, which should be applicable to the definiendum or the object to be defined, does not become defective by becoming applicable to such cases which are to be kept off from the scope of the definition. Application of the definition to such cases is said to give rise to three defects¹⁹, namely, over-applicability (*ativyāpti*) leading to wide definition, partial inapplicability (*avyāpti*) causing the definition to be narrow and total inapplicability (*asambhava*), which would defeat the purpose that is sought to be served by the definition.

There is yet another aspect of *lakṣaṇa* which requires consideration. *Lakṣaṇa* or definition is always verbal in form, i.e., it is always in the form of an expression. *Lakṣaṇa* (rather *Dharma* or *Guṇa*) which is found in the object as specific mark is distinct from *lakṣaṇa* which is stated in the form of an expression. It is not, therefore, proper to define *lakṣaṇa* when it means a definition, as a differentiating quality or mark. Rather, it is the expression of the specific mark²⁰ *asādhāraṇadharmavacanam*. 'A definition is a statement' about the specific

mark or quality and not the specific mark or quality itself, ⁽¹²⁾. Etymologically, definition means marking out the limits or boundaries of the use of words ⁽²²⁾. 'A definition is a way of restricting the meaning of a term that has several meanings, to prevent ambiguity or equivocation ⁽²³⁾'. This aspect of *lakṣaṇa* was stressed by some of the writers ⁽²⁴⁾ who had included the word *Vacanam* (expression) in their statements of the definition. However, this was not taken note of by many of the writers of the early period. The reason for this is to be found in the word *lakṣaṇa* itself. By the word *lakṣaṇa* was understood only the specific mark which is found in the object. The expression-part of *lakṣaṇa* was thus overlooked. The distinction between the two senses of the word *lakṣaṇa* could not have been realised also because there was no other word or term which could convey the sense of verbal definition. Therefore, the early writers took *lakṣaṇa* to mean only the characteristic mark pertaining to the object which was enumerated. That the distinction between the two senses of the word *lakṣaṇa* was not fully appreciated by earlier writers is clear from Udayana's ⁽²⁵⁾ refutation of Bhūṣa's reference to the words *lakṣaṇa*, *cihna* and *liṅgam* as synonymous. Bhūṣa appears to have used these three words only as referring to the marks in the object to be defined.

Since the concept of definition in its verbal form is elaborately discussed by some of the writers on *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika*, it is worthwhile to know how they looked at the problem of definitibn. The specific mark which is seen in the definiendum (*lakṣya*) is required to be shown as not present in those objects which belong to the same genus but to different species (*sajātīya*) and to the different genus (*vi-jātīya*) ⁽²⁶⁾. Since all such objects could not be present along with the object defined, the specific nature of the mark in the definiendum could not be decided by perception or analogy. Inference alone could be useful in this case ⁽²⁷⁾. The specific mark is possessed by the definiendum and so the inferential proposition, which could have scope for proving this, must be of the purely negative kind (*kevalavyatirekī*), since the definiendum alone is the minor term (*pakṣa*) here ⁽²⁸⁾. It appears that Vyomaśiva ⁽²⁹⁾ was the earliest writer to draw a reference to this and apply it in most of the definitions which he explained on the basis of the text 'Padārthadharmasaṅgraha' which he was commenting upon. Vācaspati Miśra, ⁽³⁰⁾ Udayana ⁽³¹⁾, Śilāditya ⁽³²⁾, Śrī Vallabha ⁽³³⁾ and others ⁽³⁴⁾ adopted this. Some writers took special care to use word '*vacanam*' (expression) ⁽³⁵⁾ after the word '*kevalavyatirekī*' (purely negative).

It must be mentioned here that some schools of thought ³⁵ do not recognize the validity of an inference of the purely negative kind. A proposition which starts on the basis of pure negation shall conclude only in negation. An affirmative conclusion is logically inadmissible in this case. According to these schools, the definiendum could be proved to have the specific mark through the inference of the positive and negative kind (*anvayavyatireka*) ³⁷.

Some schools of Indian thought use the word 'ākāra' (which means form or shape) to refer to the specific nature of the object ³⁸. This shape (or mark according to some) is helpful in employing an instrument of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) for distinguishing the definiendum from objects of similar and dissimilar kinds ³⁹. The specific property is shown to pervade the definiendum fully and to have no pervasion in objects which are other than the definiendum ⁴⁰.

Verbal testimony (*śabda*) ⁴¹ is also cited as useful in defining the object under investigation. But this will apply only in the case of objects which lie beyond the range of perception and inference and have relevance more in the sphere of *Vedānta* than in other schools of thought.

The adoption of the inferential argument based on the purely negative kind of inference by the *Nyāya-Vāiśeṣika* schools must have been dictated by the necessity to adopt only the inferential mode of expressing whatever one has to argue upon, no matter whether the matter lies within the province of perception or of verbal testimony.

The inferential mode of defining the object of investigation, which is adopted by the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* writers, does logically offer a negative picture of the definiendum. The positive conclusion is not, however, unacceptable but this is to be arrived at through the inference of positive and negative kind. A definition should not be given in a negative form if a positive idea is intended ⁴².

'Where the word to be defined stands for a distinctly negative idea, the negative definition is to be preferred to any other ⁴³, e. g., an alien is a person who is not a citizen of the place concerned. Such expressions are available in lexicons, e. g., *apalāpe nihnavah* ⁴⁴. These, however, are lexical definitions and do not have the status of a definition from the logical point of view.

Apart from the *kevalavyatirekī* nature of the definition, there is a particular mode of describing the definiendum by narrowing down the applicability of the description to the definiendum by using words like *atyantābhāva* ⁴⁵, *rahita* ⁴⁶, *anadhikaraṇa* ⁴⁷ and so on. The method adopted here by the use of expressions which convey the negative sense is really ingenious in as much as this is the only way by which the definition could be perfected without giving room for any defect. These definitions have, however, only a descriptive value and are not definitions proper.

An anonymous passage ⁴⁸ declares that even seers who are endowed with keen insight cannot exhaust the things mentioning them one by one but scholars can give a treatment to them when their characteristic features are made out. From this it is clear that due significance was attached by the ancient people of India to the need for taking note of the specific features of the objects. It must, however, be said that the concept and evolution of definition was of later origin. Even here, the act of defining was not fully understood in its contrast to the mention of the specific mark of the definiendum.

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- 1 Nyāyabhāṣya, Chowkhamṭa Edition. 1925. p. 51
- 2 नामधेयेन पदार्थमात्रस्याभिधानमुद्देशः । Ibid. p. 52
- 3 उद्दिष्टस्य तत्त्वव्यवच्छेदको धर्मो लक्षणम् । Ibid. p. 52
- 4 लक्षितस्य यथालक्षणमुपपद्यते न वेति प्रमाणैरवधारणं परीक्षा । Ibid. p. 52
- 5 लक्ष् दर्शनाङ्कनयोः ।
- 6 लक्षेरट् च । लक्षेश्चुरादिष्यन्तान्नः स्यात् तस्याडागमश्च ।
Siddhānta Kaumudī, Uṇādisūtra No. 290, Pada III.
- 7 Vaiśeṣikasūtra. II. 1. 1.
- 8 Ibid. II. 1. 2.
- 9 See 3 supra, उद्दिष्टस्य तत्त्वव्यवस्थापको धर्मो लक्षणम् ।
Nyāyamañjarī Part 1, p. 12, Kashi Sanskrit Series.

10. असाधारणधर्मो लक्षणम् ।

Tarkakaumudī, p. 20. Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bomby.
cf. Syādvādaratnākara Vol. IV, p. 19.

11. समानासमानजातीयव्यवच्छेदकं हि लक्षणम् ।

Tātparyāṭikā p. 158, Vijayanagarām Sanskrit Series. cf. Vardhamāna's
Nyāyanibandhaprakāśa 431 Vol. I, Bibliotheca Indica. cf. Nyāyakandali p. 26, cf.
Saṅkṣepa Śārīraka 1-515.

12. सर्वं हि लक्षणमितरपदार्थव्यवच्छेदकम् ।

Nyāyavārttika p. 79 Chowkhamba Edition.

13. व्यावृत्तिर्व्यवहारो वा लक्षणस्य प्रयोजनम् ।

14. Vyomavatī p. 189.

15. Nyāyakandali p. 36.

16. Kiraṇāvali p. 190

17. Vyomavatī pp. 243, 255, 322, 342, 357, 391. 424, 442 and 444.

18. A Modern Introduction to logic by John W. Blyth, p. 129.

19. Tarkasaṅgrahadīpikā under Dravya Section.

20. Tarkabhāṣa, p. 5, Bibliotheca Indica Series.
Pramānamimāṃsā, p. 2, Singhi Jain Granthamālā

21. Practical Logic by M. C. Beardsley, p. 159.

22. The Problem of Logic by W. R. Boyce Gibson p. 17.

23. Practical Logic by M. C. Beardsley p. 159.

24. 20 supra.

25. Kiraṇāvali p. 197.

26. Prakaraṇapañcikā p. 47, Kashi Edition, 1904.

27. Syādvādaratnākara p. 26, pp. 838-846.

28. Tātparyāṭikā p. 63, Kiraṇāvalibhāskara p. 71.

29. Vyomavatī p. 189. See also 17 supra.

30. Tātparyāṭikā p. 63, Vijaynagaram Series,

31. Kiraṇāvali p. 42. Nyāyakusumāñjali III p. 57.

32. Saptapadārthī p. 35, Vijayanagaram Series.

33. Nyāyalilāvatī pp. 88-89. Nirṇayasāgara Press Edition.

LAKṢAṆA IN THE NYĀYA-VAIŚEṢIKA SCHOOLS

149

34. Nyāyakandali pp. 28, 36.
Tarkabhāṣa p. 41, Bombay Government Series.
Tārkikarankṣā with Sārasaṅgraha pp. 75-76.
35. Tātparyaṭikā p. 63.
36. Nyāyapariśuddhi pp. 127-143, Chowkhamba Edition.
Tattvamuktākālāpa with Sarvārthasiddhi IV. 54.
Vedāntakaumudī p. 135.
Tarkatāṇḍava IV of 175-194.
37. Nyāyapariśuddhi p. 145.
38. Ibid p. 143, where the opinion of Parāśarabhaṭṭa is cited.
39. Nyāyapariśuddhi pp. 143-144.
40. Pramāṇapaddhati with eight Commentaries p. 10.
41. Nyāyapariśuddhi p. 144.
42. The problem of Logic by W. R. Boyce Gibson p. 36.
A first Course in Modern Logic by Edith Watson Schipper and Edward Shuh
pp. 26-27.
43. The Problem of Logic by W. R. Boyce Gibson p. 36.
44. Nāmaliṅgānusāsana (Amarakoṣa) I. 6. 17.
45. गन्धात्यन्ताभावरहिता पृथिवी ।—Lakṣaṇāvalī.
46. पृथिवीवृत्तित्त्वरहितहिमकरकावृत्तिजातिमज्जलम् । Ibid.
47. शब्दात्यन्ताभावानधिकरणं नभः । Ibid.
48. ऋषयोऽपि पदार्थानां नान्तं यान्ति पृथक्त्वतः ।
लक्षणेन तु सिद्धानामन्तं यान्ति विपश्चितः ॥

—Vācaspatyam Vol. VI, p. 4818.

49. A Modern Introduction to Logic by John W. Blythe. pp. 128-132.
Logic And Scientific Methods by H. L. Searles pp. 36, 38 & 39.

DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF DEVĪ AND KĀLĪ IN MUṆḌAKA UPANIṢAD 1.2.4

Carl Gustav Hartman

HELSINKI

It is a well-known fact that in the oldest Vedic literature the chief gods are masculine and that goddesses hold a subordinate position. Nevertheless, feminine divinities occur, either as lesser nature goddesses or as comparatively important ones, which are addressed in beautiful hymns (e.g. Uṣas, addressed in about twenty hymns of the Ṛg-Veda, and Aditi who is mentioned not less than eighty times). It is remarkable that in the later Vedic period, i.e. the classical Upaniṣads, we hardly find any of the older Vedic goddesses. In fact, the word *devī* occurs only once in these Upaniṣads (Bṛhad-āraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Aitareya, Taittirīya, Īśa, Kaṭha, Kena, Praśna, Māṇḍūkya, Śvetāśvatara).

We read in Muṇḍaka I.2.4 *kālī karālī ca manojavā ca sulohitā yā ca sudhūmravarṇā, sphulinginī viśva-rūpī ca devī lelāyamānā iti sapta-jihvāh*.

For another reason this passage is remarkable: the word *kālī* here occurs for the first time. It is interesting to find how scholars disagree as to the interpretation of this passage. The problem is this: are the words *kālī* and *devī* to be regarded as adjectives or substantives, and is *kālī* already a *devī*, a goddess? Or are these two words only attached to the general image of the "seven moving tongues of fire"?

First of all we shall compare nine important translations, grouped such a way as to show the development from a "flame" to a definite goddess. (For the sake of clearness the translations of *kālī* and *devī* are here printed in italics),

(1) Die *Schwarze*, Fletschende, Gedankenschnelle, Hochrote, Funkenstiebende, Rauchfarbige, Und die Allschimmernde *hehre*, das sind schaukelnd, Des Opferfeuers sieben Flammenzungen. (Deussen: Sechzing Upanishads des Veda).

(2) The *Black*, the Fierce, the Mind-swift, the Deep-red, the Smoke-coloured, the Scintillating, the *bright* All-shining, these are the seven moving tongues of fire. (Swami Śarvānanda : Muṇḍakapaniṣad, Madras).

(3) La Noire, la Ééante, Celle qui est rapide comme la pensée, la Toute-rouge et la Toute-couleur-de-fumée, Etincelante et la Divina-a'-tous-les-éclats, voila' les sept langues vacillantes (du feu). (Jacqueline Maury: Muṇḍaka Upanishad, Paris).

(4) The *Black* (kāli) and the Terrible, and the Swift-as-Thought, the very-red, and the Very-smoky-coloured, the Scintillating, and the All-formed *divine one* are the seven so-called flickering tongues (of flame) (Hume : The Thirteen Principal Upanishads).

(5) *Kālī* (black), *Karālī* (terrific), *Manojavā* (swift as thought), *Sulohitā* (very red), *Sudhūmravarṇā* (purple), *Sphuliṅginī* (sparkling) and the *brilliant* *Viśvarūpiṇī* (having all forms), all these playing about are called the seven tongues (of fire) (Max Müller : The Upaniṣads).

(6) *Kālī*, *Karālī*, *Manojavā*, *Sulohitā*, *Sudhūmravarṇā*, *Sphuliṅginī*, and the *luminous* *Viśvarucī*—these seven, flickering about, form the seven tongues of fire (Swami Nikhilananda : The Upanishads).

(7) The seven moving tongues of fire are *the black*, the terrific, the swift as mind, the very red, the very smoky-coloured, the spark-blazing, the all-shaped *goddess* (Radhakrishnan : The Principal Upaniṣads).

(8) The seven flickering tongues of the fire are : *Kālī* (the black one), *Karālī* (the terrific one), *Manojavā* (swift as the mind), *Sulohitā* (the very red one), *Sudhūmravarṇā* (of purple colour), *Sphuliṅginī* (emitting sparks) and the *Viśvarūpā* (all-shaped) *goddess*. (Roer : The Twelve Principal Upanishads).

(9) *Kālī la noire déesse*, *Karālī la terrible*, *Manojavā rapide comme la pensée*, *Sulohitā rouge-sang*, *Sudhūmravarṇā couleur de fumée*, *Sphuliṅginī qui jette des étincelles*, *Vishvaruchī la toute-belle de'esse* sont les sept langues ondoyantes du feu (Jean Herbert : Muṇḍaka Upanishad).

We find that in the first six renderings *devī* is regarded as an adjective, whereas the last three translations have a substantive *goddess*. These two interpretations are theoretically possible. According to Mayrhofer's Etymological Dictionary *devah* is used either as an adjective (heavenly, divine) or a substantive (god). So also *devī* (adj. divine) or subst.(goddess).

In Rg-Veda *devī* is either an adjective or a substantive (cf. Grassmann : Wörterbuch zum Rgveda). Most dictionaries (Monier-Williams, Macdonell, Apte, Stchoupak-Nitti-Renou) have only the second rendering. It seems as if this word has lost its adjectival character and become more frequently a substantive, at least in the older Upaniṣads.

In order to understand the exact meaning of *devī*, it is necessary to examine the uses of similar words in the Upaniṣads: substantives *deva*, *devatā*, *devatvam*, *daivatam*, adjectives *divya* and *daiva*, and the adverb *devatrā*. In addition to these, indecl. *adhidaivatam* (or *adhidevatam*) “with reference to the gods” occurs eleven times in the classical Upaniṣads, e.g. Bṛhad-āraṇyaka I. 5. 22.

In these texts *deva* occurs 254 times (Bṛhad-āraṇyaka 114, Chāndogya 53, Aitareya 3, Taittirīya 18, Īśa 2, Kena 6, Kaṭha 6, Praśna 10, Muṇḍaka 7, Śvetāśvatara 36). The translation is “god”, generally with reference to Vedic deities, e.g. Kena IV. 2 *tasmād vā ete devā atitarāṁivānyān devān yad agnir vāyur indrah*—“Therefore, these gods, Agni, Vāyu and Indra, surpass greatly other gods”.

Devatā is found 75 times (Bṛhad-āraṇyaka 35, Chāndogya 32, Aitareya 3, Taittirīya 1, Praśna 1, Muṇḍaka 1, Svetāśvatara 2), e.g. Muṇḍaka III.2.7 *gatāḥ kalāḥ pañcadaśa praiṣṭhā devā ca sarve prati-devatāsu*—“Gone are the fifteen parts to their (respective) supports (the elements) and all the gods (the sense organs) into their corresponding deities”.

The following three words are used only once each:

adv. *devatrā*, Chāndogya III.17.7 *devaṁ devatrā sūryam aganma jyotir uttamam*—“We attain to the sungod, among the gods, the highest light”.

devatvam, Bṛhad-āraṇyaka IV.3.33 *sa ekakarma—devānām ānandah, ye karmaṇā devatvam abhisampadyante* “one unit of the bliss of the gods by action, those who attain their divine status by meritorious action”.

daivatam (=devatā), Śvetāśvatara VI.7 *tam īśvarāṇām paramam maheśvaram, tam devatānām paramaṁ ca daivatam*—“He in whom is the Supreme Lord of lords, who is the highest deity of deities”.

The adjectives *divya* and *daiva* are found 21 times, the former only in Muṇḍaka. They are partly synonyms, with primary meanings: *divya*: divine, heavenly, celestial; supernatural, wonderful, magical; charming, beautiful, agreeable. *daiva*: belonging to or coming from the gods, divine, celestial (MonierWilliams). *divya*: Muṇḍaka II.1.2, II.2.7, III.2.8. *daiva*:

Bṛhad-āraṇyaka I.4.17, I.5.17, I.5.18 (twice fem. *daivī*), I.5.19 (twice), I.5.20 (twice), IV.4.4, V.2.3 (*daivī*). Chāndogya V.1.4, VII.1.2, VII.1.4, VII.2.1, VII.7.1, VIII.12.5 (twice), Taittirīya III.10.2.

When we consider all these cases with *deva* etc., it seems very unlikely that *devī* in Muṇḍaka I.2.4 should be an adjective (cf. especially fem. adj. *daivī* in Bṛhad-āraṇyaka I.5.18 and V.2.3). Just as *deva* may always be translated "god" (although these words are not equivalent from the point of view of religion), fem. *devī* apparently means "goddess".

When this meaning of *devī* has been established, we may ask if *devī* in Muṇḍaka I.2.4 refers to the preceding word only or to each of the seven tongues of fire. The first alternative seems unlikely because the first six words (Kālī, Karālī etc.) are placed in the same category as the seventh. In each case *devī* is implied, and the seven tongues of Agni are thus symbolically deified. The most lucid translation, therefore, seems to be the French rendering by Jean Herbert (the ninth translation given above): Kālī la noire de'esse etc. The most exact English translation would be accordingly:

"Kālī the black goddess, Karālī the terrible, Manojavā swift as thought, Sulohitā the very red, Sudhūmravarṇā the smoky-coloured, Sphulinginī the sparkling and the Viśvarūpinī the many coloured goddess (another reading Viśvaruṇī, all-glittering) are the seven tongues of fire".

NOTES

ṚṢI. ŚVETĀŚVATARA

In the Volume presented to MM. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj Mr. Minoru Hara in his 'Miscellanea Pāśupaticā'¹ has mentioned that the *Ṛṣi-Śvetāśvatara* of the Upaniṣad of that name can be assumed to follow the Pāśupata cult. This he concluded from the Purāṇic sources. It can now be pointed out that Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* has referred to *Śvetāśvatara* as a *Ṛṣi* on seeing whom *Lakṣmī* conceived *Puṇḍarīka*. I have referred to this in my paper published in the Poona Orientalist² and further showed that Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* can be seen to be the theistic version of the *Sāṅkhyan* system. The companion of *Puṇḍarīka* who upbraids *Lakṣmī* for her conception without consent, so to speak, is called *Kapiñjala*, a variant of *Kapila*, the *Saṅkhyan Sūtrakāra*. Thus, in the opinion of Bāṇa, *Śvetāśvatara* is to be identified with *Viṣṇu* whose consort is known as *Lakṣmī* (or *Prakṛti*). If *Viṣṇu* is the *Puruṣottama* or the *Puruṣa*, then it follows that *Śvetāśvatara* is the Untainted *Puruṣa*.

It is well-known that the tenth *avatāra* of *Viṣṇu* is to be *Kali*, and he is prophesied to ride a White Horse, *Svetāśva*, considered as the best or better than any other such—the comparative suffix *tara* added to *Śvetāśva* would be appropriate. Thus, it is not quite clear from the mere mention of *Īśa* or *Mahādeva* it would refer to *Paśupati* as such. It only shows that the Upaniṣads, except the very sectarian ones, always referred to the Ultimate Being — the *Brahman*.

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Tirupati

1. p. 55

2. Poona Orientalist vol.xviii-1953.

BRAHMAN AND ĪŚVARA

The concept of *Brahman* has been defined in the Vedānta Sūtras as involving the differentia of 'Janmādyasya yataḥ'. " (I.i.2). *Īśvara* is not necessarily identical with *Brahman* for *Brahman* could be *Īśvara* but not *Īśvara Brahman*. *Īśvaratva* reveals the Lordship or Mastery over *Prakṛti* but not necessarily the Creatorship of the Universe either in the Naiyāyika or in the Vedāntic way. *Īśvaratva* is said to be the attribute of *Buddhi* in its *sāttvika* condition (*Sāṅkhya Kārikā* 23.). Yoga also considers *Īśvara* as one who has never been under the influence of *Prakṛti* and, therefore, as one who is ever liberated. In fact this is to be the qualification of the *Ādi-Guru* or *Ādi-Ācārya*. In any case he is a person, who indwells or envelops or does both (*antar bahiṣka vyāpya Nārāyaṇo sthitah*). This double concept of *Brahman-Īśvara* has been productive of the several controversies. *Brahman* is qualified as *Sarveśvara-sarva-vyāpi* whereas other *Īśvaras* are *khaṇḍeśvaraḥ*—even like many Yogins who have arrived at the purity of *buddhi* having *aiśvarya*, *vairāgya*, *jñāna*, and *śakti*, as the *Sāṅkhya* states. The word *Mahat* as a prefix obviously refers to the *Mahat tattva* of the *Sāṅkhya* and not to the *Sarva-śabda*.

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BHĀSA AND BHĀṢĀ

Bhāsa means to shine or lustre or illumination. *Bhāṣā* is said to be language. Language is the means by which we are able to throw light on objects. No objects can really be said to be known except through language. Firstly, the light of the object, secondly, the light of the mind and thirdly, the light of language all go together to illumine or convey the meaning and existence of an object. *Nāma* and *Rūpa* (name and form)—one illumining by sound and another by light together cooperate in the conveying of meaning not only to another but also to oneself. Therefore, at the earliest period of evolution of thought, sound was followed by form or illumination (*tejas*) and sound was of the form of vibrations which possessed this power of concretising the shape as an existence.

Sound (which is the property of *Ākāśa* or ether) and Form (which is the property of *tejas*) were considered essential for knowledge (both personal *svārtha* and social *parārtha*). Thus *bhāsa* and *bhāṣā* are integral to one another.

The change of the *sa* into *ṣa* or vice versa later on is precisely a philological change which in philology got itself approved. The nature of *Vāk* as *bhāṣā* is further elucidated by the concept of *sphoṭa* which means an explosive illumination. This level of experience of language is earlier to the radical changes in the fully articulated language. This stage of Sound is not that of *Ākāśa* but that of *Nāda* or vibrations or *spandana* which is stated to be the basic beginning of all creative evolution that proceeds on three lines (i) of *nāda*, (ii) of *bhāṣā* (of form) and (iii) of atoms or *aṇus*. The ancient thinkers held all the three to be derivatives from one basic *prakṛti*. Thus, *Nāda* or pure inarticulated Sound (*śabda*) is the *para* or transcendental source of all name-vibrations that later on turn out to be language sounds. The second development, which originates with Form and is so very integrated with the Sound that it is even considered to follow from the former (a nominalistic view), leads to the apprehension of gross light that reveals forms—a grosser experience through sight. The third is the apprehension of atoms or aggregates of things that cannot be identified either with the names or the forms which seem to be extraneous to the thinghood (*artha* or bodiedness). Any attempt to reduce the three leads to either nominalism or formalism or materialism.

The basic necessity in evolving a fully expository conception of these triple fields of objects (*aṇu*-aggregates), forms of objects (sight-forms) and sounds (name-forms or patterns) is clearly noticed both by philosophers who are obliged to expound the real natures of *Śabda* and *Rūpa* and *Artha*.

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Tiupati

AMĀ

The word *Amā* has been used in certain commentaries to mean *Amāvāsyā*, e. g.:

*Amāyām tu sadā somah
oṣadhīṣu pratipadyate*

I was wondering as to how the word could have this particular meaning. M. Williams in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary connects this word with Vedic *Amā* 'this' and treats *Amā* as inst. sg. of *Ama* and as an indeclinable. In Pāṇini and later works *Amā* is only an indeclinable, meaning 'in the company of, with'. We may surely take *Amātya* 'King's companion, minister' as derived from *Amā* + *tyap* according to the rule *Avyayāt tyap* (Pāṇ.). This would, however, not explain the meaning '*Amāvāsyā*' of the commentaries.

On further thought on the point, I feel that the commentaries have treated *Amā* as an abbreviation of *Amāvāsyā*. It is one of the prevalent methods of abbreviation to take a part (particularly the first) for the whole for the sake of brevity and economy of effort. Various examples can be cited to illustrate this, such as Rail (Railways), motor (-car) from Indian and foreign languages

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Dr. Buddha Prakash's Article "*Sā'di at Somanātha*" : A criticism.

In his article "*Sā'di at Somanātha*" published in Kaviraj Abhinandana Grantha presented to Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj by the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow Dr. Buddha Prakash says that *Sā'di*'s visit to *Somanātha* deserves to be believed because the latter claims to have stopped there on his way from Shiraz to Mecca and that when a person states a fact he deserves to be believed unless the contrary is proved. Now, it is well known that *Somanātha* does not lie on the route from Shiraz to Mecca. Moreover, it is a fantastic proposition that if

person claims to have done a particular act it is not for him to prove his assertion by all cogent means but for others to disprove the same. It is really difficult to believe Sa'di; because no Hindu would allow a non-Hindu, particularly a Mahomedan, to enter the holy precincts of his temple, much less to kiss the hand of the idol installed therein. Sa'di could not have done so even by trying to conceal his identity, as it was next to impossible for a fresh arrival from Persia, whose features, dress, make-up, language, tone and outward behaviour must be in full contrast with those of the people of this country. In fact, not even a Hindu, not to say of a Mahomedan, is ever allowed to enter the sanctum and go so near the idol; and in this particular case the caution would have been all the more; because if there was really any mechanism as alleged by Sheikh Sa'di the priest could not have hazarded its discovery. The poet says: "I fastened the door of the temple one night", as if he was allowed to stay in the temple at night and that too not for one night alone; for the sentence implies that he stayed there for more nights than one. This again is unbelievable and absurd. One may ask here 'which door?' ; for all doors of a sanctum are always closed, and probably locked, by the priest when the deity goes for *sayana* during the night. Then, how could Sa'di run 'to the left and the right' and why should 'A fire-temple prelate' sit at night 'in rear of the screen with the end of a rope in hand' when his duty to do so was in the mornings? And, how could the priest flee and the poet pursue him when the door had been fastened by the latter beforehand? Moreover, the poet was there all alone; while the priest must have had a number of companions and a still larger number of devotees, who would have never allowed the former to have the upper hand. Taking every thing into account, the story spun out by Sa'di appears to be quite unbelievable.

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बौद्धदर्शन और अद्वैत वेदान्त का गौडपादकृत समन्वय (GAUḌAPĀDA'S RAPPROACHMENT BETWEEN BUDDHISM AND VEDĀNTA)

गौडपाद का समय और कृतियां—

आगमशास्त्र नामक ग्रन्थ, जिसे बहुधा गौडपादकारिका या माण्डूक्यकारिका भी कहते हैं, प्राचीन भारतीय दर्शन का एक उत्कृष्ट और महत्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थ है। इसके रचयिता गौडपाद सम्भवतः गौडप्रदेश (बंगाल) के रहने वाले थे और जान पड़ता है इसी से लोग उन्हें गौडपाद कहने लगे। उनका वास्तविक नाम अब तक अज्ञात है।

कुछ लोग उन्हें शङ्कराचार्य के गुरु का गुरु मानते हैं और कुछ माध्यमिक विचारक भावविवेक का समकालीन। पहले मत के अनुसार वे ईसा की सातवीं शती में हुए होंगे और दूसरे के, जो वर्तमान लेखक का भी मत है, ईसा की छठी शती के मध्य में।

गौडपाद, आगमशास्त्र के अतिरिक्त, सांख्यकारिकाभाष्य, उत्तरगीता और सुभगोदय-स्तुति के भी रचयिता कहे जाते हैं, किन्तु इस कथन के विषय में पर्याप्त सन्देह है। आगमशास्त्र, जिसमें कुल २१५ कारिकाएँ हैं, चार प्रकरणों में विभक्त है। चार प्रकरणों में से प्रथम में आगम, द्वितीय में वैतथ्य, तृतीय में अद्वय और चतुर्थ में अलातशान्ति का प्रतिपादन किया गया है। यह ग्रन्थ आरम्भ तो हुआ है माण्डूक्योपनिषद् की टीका के रूप में किन्तु आगे चलकर इसने एक स्वतन्त्र ग्रन्थ का ही रूप ग्रहण कर लिया है।

आगमशास्त्र में प्रतिपादित विचारों के विषय में विभिन्न मत —

सर्वप्रथम डा० मैक्स वेल्लेजर ने सुझाया कि गौडपादकृत आगमशास्त्र में महायान दर्शन का प्रभाव प्रचुरता के साथ परिलक्षित होता है। यही बात डा० गोपीनाथ कविराज ने भी कही है। डा० सुरेन्द्रनाथ दासगुप्त ने तो यहां तक कहा है कि सम्भवतः गौडपाद स्वयं बौद्धमतावलम्बी ही थे किन्तु इसी के साथ उपनिषदों के विचारों और बुद्ध के उपदेशों में समानता के समर्थक भी थे। डा० विधुशेखर भट्टाचार्य ने आगमशास्त्र पर माध्यमिक दर्शन और विज्ञानवाद के विचारों का गहरा प्रभाव मानते हुए यह प्रतिपादित करने का प्रयत्न किया है कि आगमशास्त्र का चतुर्थ अर्थात् अलातशान्ति वाला प्रकरण मूलतः ग्रन्थ का अङ्ग नहीं था। उनके अनुसार ग्रन्थ के चारों प्रकरण पहले चार स्वतन्त्र ग्रन्थ थे, जिन्हें बाद में एक साथ मिलाकर आगमशास्त्र का नाम दे दिया गया। बहुत कुछ गद्दी मत डा० टी० आर० वी० मूर्ति का भी है। वे कहते हैं कि ग्रन्थ के प्रथम तीन प्रकरण तो किसी

कट्टर वेदान्ती द्वारा लिखे गये हैं और चतुर्थ सम्भवतः किसी बौद्धमतावलम्बी द्वारा। डा० मूर्ति का यह भी कहना है कि वेदान्तियों और बौद्ध विचारकों के बीच सिद्धान्तों का कोई पारस्परिक आदान प्रदान सम्भव ही नहीं था; क्योंकि उन दोनों की परम्परागत पृष्ठभूमि और तत्त्वदृष्टि एक दूसरे से सर्वथा भिन्न थी। डा० रघुनाथ दामोदर करमरकर ग्रन्थ के चारों प्रकरणों को गौडपाद की ही कृति मानते हैं, किन्तु उनका मत है कि बौद्धदर्शन की शब्दावली के प्रयोग को छोड़कर ग्रन्थ पर उक्त दर्शन का और कोई प्रभाव नहीं देख पड़ता।

प्रस्तुत लेख का प्रतिपाद्य विषय और लेखक का मत—

प्रस्तुत लेख का लेखक गौडपाद को बौद्ध मतावलम्बी नहीं मानता और न यह मानता है कि आगमशास्त्र का चतुर्थ प्रकरण गौडपाद की कृति नहीं है। उसका कहना है कि (दो सौ पन्द्रहों कारिकाएं) गौडपाद की ही कृति हैं और चार स्वतन्त्र ग्रन्थ न होकर एक ही ग्रन्थ के अभिन्न अङ्ग हैं। इस लेख में उसने यह प्रतिपादित करने का प्रयत्न किया है कि गौडपादकृत आगमशास्त्र एक ऐसा ग्रन्थ है जो बौद्धदर्शन और वेदान्त के बीच समन्वय स्थापित करता है। उसके मतानुसार ब्राह्मण और बौद्ध धर्मों ने, जो आरम्भ में परस्पर विरोधी थे, आगे चलकर अनेक कारणों से एक दूसरे को इतना प्रभावित किया कि सिद्धान्तों के पारस्परिक आदान प्रदान के कारण दोनों के बीच उत्तरोत्तर समन्वय स्थापित होता चला गया। उसका कहना है कि गौडपाद के विचार और उनका आगमशास्त्र इसी समन्वयात्मक प्रक्रिया की ही उपज हैं और वेदान्त तथा महायान के सिद्धान्तों का एक प्रकार से मिश्रण प्रस्तुत करते हुए कहे जा सकते हैं। उसकी मान्यता है कि बौद्ध दर्शन और अद्वैत वेदान्त के बीच समन्वय की चेष्टा के प्रयत्न आगमशास्त्र के प्रथम प्रकरण में ही आरम्भ हो जाते हैं, दूसरे और तीसरे प्रकरणों में इन प्रयत्नों की क्रमशः प्रगति होती है और चतुर्थ में ये प्रयत्न अपनी चरमावस्था को प्राप्त होकर फलीभूत हो जाते हैं।

ला० म० जो०

प्रशस्तपादकृत सुविख्यात वैशेषिक ग्रन्थ के विभिन्न नाम
(THE VARIOUS NAMES FOR THE FAMOUS VAIŚEṢIKA
WORK OF PRAŚASTAPĀDA)

अनेक विद्वानों ने प्रशस्तपाद की इस कृति का उल्लेख 'प्रशस्तपादभाष्यम्' के नाम से ही किया है। किन्तु प्रशस्तपाद का अपना रखा हुआ नाम निःसन्देह पदार्थधर्मसङ्ग्रह है। इसीलिए आधुनिक विद्वान इस प्रशस्तपादकृत पदार्थधर्म सङ्ग्रह कहना अधिक पसन्द करते हैं। इसे ही कामशील ने अपने तत्सङ्ग्रहपञ्चिका नामक ग्रन्थ में पदार्थप्रवेशक की ओर श्रीधर ने न्यायकन्दली की पुष्पिका में पदार्थप्रवेश की संज्ञा दी है। भट्टाकलङ्कदेवकृत न्यायविनिश्चय के वादिराजिसूरिकृत न्यायविनिश्चयविवरण नामक भाष्य में इसका उल्लेख पदार्थप्रवेश के नाम से ही किया गया है। शङ्करमिश्र ने अपने वैशेषिकसूत्रोपस्कार नामक ग्रन्थ में इस ग्रन्थ से दो उद्धरण दिये हैं और उन उद्धरणों को देते समय ग्रन्थ का नाम दिया है पदार्थप्रवेश, जिसका यह अर्थ हुआ कि इस ग्रन्थ का नाम पदार्थप्रदेश भी है। इसी ग्रन्थ का शिवादित्यकृत सप्तपदार्थों की अपनी टीका में जिनवर्धनसूरि ने प्रशस्तकरभाष्यम् नाम से उल्लेख किया है, और अपने षड्दर्शनसमुच्चय नामक ग्रन्थ में राजशेखरसूरि ने वैशेषिक दर्शन के ग्रन्थों को गिनाते हुए इस ग्रन्थ का उल्लेख प्रशस्तकरभाष्यकम् नाम से किया है।

प्रशस्तपादभाष्यम् और पदार्थधर्मसङ्ग्रह इस ग्रन्थ के ये ही दो नाम विद्वन्मण्डली में अधिक प्रचलित हैं, किन्तु विद्वानों ने इनके अतिरिक्त कुछ और भी नामों का प्रयोग किया है। उदाहरणार्थ, ल्वीगी सुआली ने अपने भारतीय दर्शन विषयक इतालवी ग्रन्थ में इस ग्रन्थ का नाम प्रशस्तभाष्य दिया है, जो संस्कृत के दर्शन ग्रन्थों में कहीं देखने में नहीं आता। इसी प्रकार आटो स्ट्रास ने भारतीय दर्शन के अपने जर्मन ग्रन्थ में इसी ग्रन्थ का नाम द्रव्यादिषड्पदार्थभाष्य दिया है, जो पदार्थधर्मसङ्ग्रह की पुष्पिका से ही लिया गया होगा।

इस प्रकार इस ग्रन्थ के इतने नाम हुए—प्रशस्तभाष्य, प्रशस्तकरभाष्य, प्रशस्तकर-भाष्यक, प्रशस्तपादभाष्य, पदार्थधर्मसङ्ग्रह, पदार्थप्रवेश, पदार्थप्रवेशक, पदार्थप्रदेश और द्रव्यादिषड्पदार्थभाष्य। इनमें से प्रथम चार नाम ग्रन्थकर्ता के नाम पर ही पड़े जान पड़ते हैं और इसलिये ग्रन्थ के वास्तविक नाम नहीं हो सकते। अन्तिम नाम केवल पुष्पिका में ही पाया जाता है, इसलिये बहुत सम्भव है कि उसे प्रतिलिपिकार या सम्पादक ने स्वयं ही लिख दिया हो। दूसरे, यह ग्रन्थ का वास्तविक नाम न होकर उसके विषय का परिचायक मात्र है। शेष नामों में से "पदार्थधर्मसङ्ग्रह" ही एक ऐसा नाम है जिसका प्रयोग अपने ग्रन्थ में प्रशस्तपाद ने स्वयं किया है। इसलिये औरों की अपेक्षा वही अधिक मान्य है।

गो० च० सि०

ज० प्र० सि०

ĀBHĀSAVĀDA ACCORDING TO THE ŚĀNKA RĀDVAITA PHILOSOPHY.

(शङ्कराद्वैतसम्मत आभासवाद)

Śankara's approach to the central doctrines of Advaita through three different standpoints has led to the emergence of a trinity of theories in the Post-Śāṅkaraite literature, namely *Avaccheda*, *Pratibimba* and *Ābhāsa*. *Avaccheda* has been clearly distinguished from the other two theories. But owing to a tendency of equating *Ābhāsa* and *Pratibimba* with each other *Ābhāsa* has long remained shrouded in the web of *Pratibimba*. The purpose of this paper is to highlight the implications of *Ābhāsa* and streamline the distinctions between *Ābhāsa* and *Pratibimba*.

To Śankara *Ābhāsa* is a semblance of *Brahman* enshrined in the mind. Sureśvara defines it as one which appears to be real until the Reality is realised. To quote him, it is '*avicāritasāmsiddha*' (inexplicable). Anandgiri offers so many definitions and makes it clear that *Ābhāsa* is that semblance or false cognition of pure consciousness which is the subject of sublation and logical discardment. *Ābhāsa*, says Vidyāranya, is a partial manifestation of its prototype. To sum up, *Ābhāsa* is a depreciated semblance of the Supreme Self in *Ajñāna* and its products, appearing as real, conscious and luminous till terminated by *Ātmajñāna*.

The *Ātmābhāsa* immured in *Ajñāna* is *Kāraṇābhāsa* and enshrined in the modifications of *Ajñāna* is *Kāryābhāsa*.

Ābhāsa plays an important role in explaining the causality of universe, in maintaining the relation of *Brahman* to *Māyā* and in answering other vexed problems of *Advaita* system.

To differentiate *Ābhāsa* from *Pratibimba*, it is worth remembering that the former is illusory and the latter is real. While in *Ābhāsavāda* both the adjunct and the *ābhāsa* are sublatale, in *Pratibimbavāda* only the adjunct is so.

S. D. M.

संस्कृत शब्द 'नित्य' पर एक टिप्पणी (A NOTE ON THE SANSKRIT WORD 'NITYA')

'नित्य' शब्द का मूल अर्थ है 'के अन्दर पाया जाने वाला'। वैदिक वाङ्मय में उसका अर्थ स्वीय, सहज और प्रिय शब्दों की भांति हो गया 'निजी', 'प्रिय'। आगे चलकर लौकिक संस्कृत में उसी शब्द का अर्थ हो गया 'सदा रहने वाला', 'शाश्वत', किन्तु वही शब्द जब किसी समस्त पद का अन्तिम शब्द होता है तो ऐसा जान पड़ता है कि उसमें उसके मूल अर्थ की कुछ छाया अब भी रह गयी है। ऐसे स्थलों पर, जैसे 'स्त्री-नित्य', 'अरण्यनित्य' आदि शब्दों में उसका अर्थ होता है 'सदा संसक्त' या 'का इच्छुक'। निरुक्त में प्रयुक्त 'इन्द्रियनित्यम् (वचनम्)' पद का अर्थ 'इन्द्रिय में (सदा) स्थित' प्रोफेसर बरो ने इसलिये ठीक ही लगाया है।

महाभारत में जिन जिन श्लोकों में 'नित्य' शब्द का प्रयोग किसी समस्तपद के अङ्ग के रूप में हुआ है, उन सबको सन्दर्भानुसार वर्गीकृत और उद्धृत करते हुए प्रस्तुत लेख के लेखक ने यह दिखलाने का प्रयत्न किया है कि इस प्रकार के समस्त पद दो वर्गों में विभाजित किये जा सकते हैं। एक तो, वे जो नैतिक या धार्मिक भाव को व्यक्त करने वाले शब्दों के साथ मिलकर बने हैं (जैसे धर्मनित्य, तपोनित्य, सत्यनित्य, ध्याननित्य जपनित्य आदि पद) और दूसरे वे जो मूर्त पदार्थों या वस्तुओं को द्योतित करने वाले पदों के साथ मिलकर बने हैं (जैसे वननित्य, पर्वतनित्य, जाह्नवीनित्य आदि पद)। इस दूसरे वर्गवाले पदों में से भी कुछ ऐसे हैं जो स्नान, ध्यान आदि से सम्बन्ध रखने के कारण आध्यात्मिक या धार्मिक प्रकृति के ही हैं। इस प्रवृत्ति का कारण सम्भव है कुछ और न होकर केवल यह ही हो कि महाभारत एक धार्मिक ग्रन्थ है।

सम्भव है इस प्रकार के प्रयोगों से कुछ निष्कर्ष महाभारत के पाठसंशोधन के विषय में भी निकाला जा सके; क्योंकि ऐसे प्रयोग अधिकतर उपाख्यानों वाले पर्व, वनपर्व (पर्व सं० ३) में, तथाकथित प्रक्षिप्त पर्वों, शान्ति और अनुशासन पर्वों में ही मिलते हैं। किन्तु यह भी हो सकता है कि इसका कारण उक्त पर्वों का बाद में लिखकर जोड़ा जाना न होकर उनका बृहदाकार होना ही हो।

ऐसे स्थलों में 'नित्य' शब्द की अभिधेयता पर-रत, -निरत, -अभिरत, -युक्त, -उपेत, -प्रिय और शील की अभिधेयता के समान ही है।

लेखक ने अमेरिकन ओरियण्टल सोसाइटी की शोध-पत्रिका की जिल्द ७६ (सन् १९५६) में प्रकाशित अपने लेख "ए नोट ऑन दी संस्कृत वर्ड नित्य" में बतलाया था कि उपसर्ग 'नि' अधिकरणवाची है। उसका कहना है कि महाभारत में ऐसे अनेक पद हैं

जिनमें 'नित्य' शब्द का अर्थ अधिकरण कारक में प्रयुक्त शब्द के साथ ही लगाया जा सकता है और यह भी कि ऐसे स्थलों पर उक्त शब्द में 'से सदा संसक्त' वाला उसका मूल अर्थ अब भी बचा रह गया है।

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वैशेषिक दर्शन में अदृष्ट और धर्म (ADRṢṬA AND DHARMA IN THE VAIŚEṢIKA PHILOSOPHY)

वैशेषिक दर्शन के आधुनिक विद्वान् विश्वनाथ की उक्ति "धर्माधर्मवदृष्टं स्यात्" के आधार पर अदृष्ट को धर्म और अधर्म का पर्यायवाची ही मानेंगे। यही मत प्रशस्तपाद का भी था और प्रशस्तपाद का ही अनुसरण व्योमशिव, श्रीधर और उदयन ने किया है।

किन्तु ऐसा नहीं जान पड़ता है कि स्वयं कणाद का भी यही मत रहा हो। यह अवश्य है कि प्रशस्तपाद ने अपना पदार्थधर्मसङ्ग्रह वैशेषिक दर्शन की मान्यताओं को एक सुव्यवस्थित रूप देने के लिये ही लिखा था, किन्तु उन्होंने उसमें अनेक बातें अपनी ओर से भी जोड़ दी हैं। इसलिए प्रशस्तपाद के मत के लिए यह मान लेना कि वही महर्षि कणाद का भी मत रहा होगा उचित न होगा।

दृष्ट और अदृष्ट शब्द, दर्शन और दृष्टि की भांति, दृश् धातु से, जिसका अर्थ देखना है, बने हैं। इसलिए अदृष्ट का अर्थ हुआ "जो न देखा गया हो", 'जिसका कोई कारण न बतलाया गया हो'। प्रस्तुत लेख के लेखक का मत है कि प्राचीन दर्शन के सन्दर्भ में दृष्ट और अदृष्ट शब्दों के अर्थ इसी प्रकार शाब्दिक ही लगाये जाने चाहिए।

दृष्ट और अदृष्ट शब्द वैशेषिक सूत्रों में अनेक बार आये हैं। महर्षि कणाद के अनुसार प्रत्येक कार्य का कारण अवश्य होना चाहिए, वह कारण ज्ञात भले ही न हो। इसलिए उन्होंने अदृष्टकारित शब्द का प्रयोग उन्हीं बातों के लिए किया है जिनके कारण उनके समय तक, खोजने पर भी, उपलब्ध नहीं हो सके थे; उदाहरणार्थ, वृक्ष के जड़ में दिये गये जल का उसकी शाखाओं और पत्तियों तक पहुँच जाना, सुई का चुम्बक की ओर भागना, अग्नि की ज्वालाओं का ऊपर की ओर उठना इत्यादि। इस स्थान पर यदि यह कहा जाय कि अदृष्टकारित से महर्षि का तात्पर्य उन बातों से था जिनके कारण ज्ञात या

उपलब्ध होते हुए भी आंख से देखे नहीं जा सकते तो यह ठीक नहीं होगा; क्योंकि वैदिक यज्ञों की अलौकिक शक्तियों को तज्जन्य फल का कारण बतलाते हुए महर्षि ने उक्त फल के विषय में अदृष्टकारित शब्द का प्रयोग नहीं किया है। विज्ञान सदा ही प्रगतिशील रहा है। इसलिए जो कारण आज ज्ञात नहीं है वह, सम्भव है, कल ज्ञात हो जाए और आज भी जो एक को ज्ञात नहीं है वह, सम्भव है, किसी दूसरे को ज्ञात ही हो। महर्षि ने अज्ञात को अज्ञात स्वीकार करने में सङ्कोच कभी नहीं किया। वास्तव में न्याय-वैशेषिक के अनुसार मानव, वह ऋषि ही क्यों न हो, सर्वज्ञ हो ही नहीं सकता।

यह अवश्य है कि बहुधा धर्म और अधर्म अदृष्ट रहते हैं, किन्तु अदृष्ट की व्याप्ति वहीं तक नहीं है। धर्म और अधर्म के अतिरिक्त और भी अनेक बातें ऐसी हो सकती हैं जो अदृष्ट हों। इसके अतिरिक्त, वैशेषिक सूत्रों में ही कुछ सन्दर्भ ऐसे हैं जहां धर्म को ही कारण बतलाया गया है, अदृष्ट को नहीं।

वैशेषिक दर्शन में धर्म शब्द सदा ही “पुण्य” का वाची नहीं है। अन्यथा, ऋषिवर अपने सूत्रों में “अथाज्ञो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः” और “यतोऽम्युदयनिश्चयससिद्धिः स धर्मः” कहकर पदार्थों के गुण या धर्म न बतलाने लग जाते। प्रशस्तपादकृत ग्रन्थ “पदार्थधर्मसङ्ग्रह” के नाम और आरम्भिक वाक्य “पदार्थधर्मसङ्ग्रहं प्रचक्ष्यते” तथा उक्त वाक्य के विषय में उदयन का यह कहना कि “एतेन... .. त्रिसूत्री व्याख्याता” से स्पष्ट है कि प्रशस्तपाद और उदयन के अनुसार भी वैशेषिक सूत्रों में धर्म का तात्पर्य पदार्थधर्म से ही है।

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प्रतिहार-राष्ट्रकूट इतिहास से सम्बद्ध एक घटनावृत्त पर नया प्रकाश (NEW LIGHT ON AN EPISODE IN PRATIHĀRA-PRĀṢṬRAKŪṬA HISTORY)

राष्ट्रकूट-नरेश इन्द्र तृतीय फरवरी ६१५ ई० में गद्दी पर बैठे और उसके तुरन्त बाद ६१६ ई० के शरत्काल में ही सहसा कन्नौज पर चढ़ाई करके प्रतिहार नरेश महीपाल को परास्त कर दिया। किन्तु इसके तुरन्त बाद राष्ट्रकूट दक्षिण को वापस चले गये और महीपाल ने, जिसे उन्होंने प्रयाग तक खदेड़ दिया था, अपनी प्रतिष्ठा पुनः स्थापित कर ली।

प्रस्तुत लेख में लेखक ने कतिपय पूर्वघटित घटनाओं का उल्लेख करके यह दिखलाया है कि प्रतिहारों पर राष्ट्रकूटों का उपर्युक्त आक्रमण न तो अकारण ही था और न उसके

विषय में यही समझा जा सकता है कि उसका पहले की किसी बात से कोई सम्बन्ध ही नहीं था ।

लेखक के अनुसार घटना-चक्र का आरम्भ उस समय से होता है जब महीपाल के पिता महेन्द्रपाल ने अपने राजत्वकाल (८८५ या ८९० ई०-९१० ई०) में राष्ट्रकूट-नरेश कृष्ण द्वितीय को बेंगी के पूर्वीय चालुक्यों और तमिल प्रदेश के चोलों के साथ सङ्घर्षरत और अन्ततोगत्वा वल्लाल के युद्ध में परास्त हुआ पाकर उसपर अपने करद चन्देलराज विजयशक्ति से आक्रमण करा दिया । इस आक्रमण के तुरन्त बाद राष्ट्रकूट-नरेश को महेन्द्रपाल से सन्धि हीं नहीं कर लेनी पड़ी अपितु उसके साथ अपनी कन्या का विवाह भी कर देना पड़ा । इससे राष्ट्रकूटों के हृदय में प्रतिहारों के प्रति फांस पड़ जाना स्वाभाविक था ।

जब सन् ९१० ई० में महेन्द्रपाल मर गया और महीपाल सिंहासनारूढ़ हुआ तो राष्ट्रकूटों ने देखा कि अब पिछले अपमान का प्रतिशोध लेने के लिए अवसर अच्छा है । अतः उन्होंने प्रतिहारों पर चढ़ाई कर दी । उस समय राष्ट्रकूटों का राजा कृष्ण द्वितीय ही था, किन्तु युद्ध में अग्रणी उसका पुत्र जगत्तुङ्ग था । अभी हाल में नासिक जिले के मालेगांव नामक स्थान से ४ मील पूर्व जो २४ फरवरी, ९१५ ई० के इन्द्र तृतीय द्वारा प्रदत्त बजीरखेड़ा ताम्रपत्र मिले हैं, उनसे ज्ञात होता है कि उक्त युद्ध में जगत्तुङ्ग ने महीपाल को ऐसी करारी हार दी कि युद्ध में जो गूर्जर (प्रतिहार) जीवित बच भी गये उनका भयज्वर बहुत दिनों तक नहीं उतर सका । इस विजय के अनन्तर जगत्तुङ्ग अपने वृद्ध पिता कृष्ण द्वितीय के जीवनकाल में ही दिवंगत हो गया । इस युद्ध में महीपाल हार तो गया, किन्तु जान पड़ता है कि जगत्तुङ्ग के आकस्मिक निधन तथा कृष्ण द्वितीय की जीवन-सन्ध्या में उत्तराधिकार सम्बन्धी झगड़ों के उठ खड़े होने के कारण राष्ट्रकूटों की यह विजय अपूर्ण ही रह गयी, प्रतिहारों का नितान्त विमर्दन नहीं हो पाया । अतः जब इन्द्र तृतीय ९१५ ई० में अपने प्रतिद्वन्दियों को परास्त करके सिंहासनारूढ़ हुआ तो सब से प्रथम उसका ध्यान जगत्तुङ्ग जिस कार्य को अधूरा छोड़ गया था उसे पूरा करने की ओर गया और ९१६ ई० में ही उसने प्रतिहारों पर आक्रमण कर दिया । इसलिए राष्ट्रकूटों के इस आक्रमण को उस बड़े अभियान का ही, जिसे जगत्तुङ्ग ने सन् ९१० ई० और सन् ९१४ ई० के बीच आरम्भ किया था, एक अङ्ग ही समझना चाहिए ।

विष्णु का अनिरुद्ध नाम (VIṢṆU'S NAME ANIRUDDHA)

विष्णु का सुप्रसिद्ध नाम अनिरुद्ध संहिता और ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों में नहीं मिलता । उनके लिए इस नाम का प्रयोग कहां, कब और किसके द्वारा सर्वप्रथम हुआ यह कह सकना कठिन है ; किन्तु इतना तो स्पष्ट ही है कि जब कभी किसी देवताविशेष के लिए इस नाम का पहले पहल प्रयोग किया गया होगा तब यही व्यक्त करने के लिए किया गया होगा कि उस देवता की दैवी शक्ति या विभूति ऐसी है कि वह उसके कारण पूर्णतया स्वतन्त्र रूप से, बिना किसी प्रतिबन्ध या अवरोध के, कार्य करने में समर्थ है और जब चाहे तब, बिना किसी रुकावट या बाधा के, अपना अस्तित्व प्रकट कर सकता है ।

मुद्गल उपनिषद् ने ऋग्वेदीय पुरुष सूक्त की व्याख्या करते हुए कहा है कि उक्त सूक्त की प्रथम तीन ऋचाएं विष्णु की क्रमशः सर्वव्यापकता, अनन्ता ता और वैभव का वर्णन करती हैं तथा चौथी ऋचा यह कहकर कि 'पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि' अनिरुद्ध के वैभव (अनिरुद्धस्य वैभवम्) की ही प्रशंसा करती है । इस सन्दर्भ में अनिरुद्ध शब्द का प्रयोग उसके यौगिक अर्थ के अनुकूल ही है । यहां पर विद्वान् लेखक का कहना है कि अनिरुद्ध शब्द की व्यञ्जना यहीतक सीमित नहीं है । उसने संहिता, ब्राह्मण, उपनिषद्, भगवद्गीता और धर्मशास्त्र आदि से अनेक उद्धरण देकर यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न किया है कि अनिरुद्ध शब्द का प्रयोग "बाधारहित, प्रतिबन्धरहित, स्वच्छन्दता के साथ चलने फिरने और काम करने वाला" विशेषणों में निहित भाव को व्यक्त करने के लिए पहले बहुतायत से हुआ है और यह भी कि उक्त शब्द के इस रूप का, जो एक क्रियाव्यञ्जक विशेषण का रूप है, यह भी अर्थ लगाया जा सकता है कि इसका तात्पर्य ऐसे व्यक्ति या पदार्थ से होना चाहिए जो रोका न जा सकता हो, जिसे कोई बाधा न पहुंचायी जा सकती हो और जो सभी प्रकार के निग्रह, परिरोध, प्रतिबन्ध, दमन और विनाश के परे हो । किसी वस्तु का नाम उस वस्तु का प्रतिरूप ही तो है, इसलिए जिसने उस नाम का ज्ञान प्राप्त कर लिया उसे वह शक्ति भी प्राप्त हो जाती है जिसके सहारे वह उस नामवाले को पुकार सके, आमन्त्रित कर सके, बुला सके, उसका आवाहन कर सके और उसे अपने हित में प्रेरित कर सके । लेखक के मतानुसार यह भी सम्भव है कि नाम का ज्ञान ज्ञाता के लिए ऐसा साधन सिद्ध हो कि वह उस ज्ञान के द्वारा उसकी, जिसका वह नाम है, शक्तिविशेष को अपनी ओर आकृष्ट करने और अपने में समो लेने में समर्थ हो सके । ऐसी दशा में यह बहुत सम्भव है कि किसी सम्प्रदायविशेष के उपासकों ने इस अनिरुद्ध शब्द को अपने उपास्य देव के नाम के रूप में ग्रहण कर लिया हो । इस नाम का शाब्दिक अर्थ ही, जो भगवान् के बहुगुणात्मक और बहुमुखी व्यक्तित्व के एक पक्षविशेष का द्योतक है, बुद्धिमान् वैष्णवों का ध्यान आकृष्ट करने के लिए अवश्य ही पर्याप्त सिद्ध हुआ होगा ।

यह पता नहीं कि अनिरुद्ध नाम का कोई ऐसा स्वतन्त्र अस्तित्व वाला और न्यूनाधिक दैवी विभूति से सम्पन्न पुरुष, जिसके उपासकों का एक अपना ही सम्प्रदाय रहा हो, कभी हुआ भी है या नहीं। इस सम्बन्ध में, महाभारत और पुराणों में जो सन्दर्भ मिलते हैं, उनसे कोई निश्चित निष्कर्ष नहीं निकाला जा सकता, क्योंकि उनके मूल में उक्त ग्रन्थों की समन्वयात्मक और योजनामूलक प्रवृत्ति तथा धार्मिक तथ्यों को रूपक के रूप में बांधने की इच्छा ही प्रधान रही है। वैसे, महाभारत आदि में अनिरुद्ध के विषय में जो उल्लेख हैं वे काफी रोचक हैं। महाभारत के सभापर्व में उल्लेख है कि जिस समय युधिष्ठिर ने अपने नये प्रासाद में प्रवेश किया उस समय उन के साथ अन्य राजाओं के अतिरिक्त अनिरुद्ध नाम के राजा भी थे। महाभारत में ही अनिरुद्ध को अव्यय, विष्णु और ब्रह्मा का स्रष्टा कहा गया है तथा ब्रह्मा को अनिरुद्ध की नाभि से उत्पन्न हुआ बतलाया गया है। उसी ग्रन्थ में अनिरुद्ध को ईश्वर और 'लोकसर्गकर' बतलाया गया है तथा यह भी कहा गया है कि परमेश्वर ने अनिरुद्ध के रूप में ब्रह्मा को अपने दर्शन दिये। प्रस्तुत लेख के लेखक ने महाभारत से ही इसी प्रकार के कुछ और उद्धरण देकर यह बतलाया है कि उक्त ग्रन्थ में अनिरुद्ध को बहुत ही ऊँचा स्थान दिया गया है और सर्जन-शक्ति का आधान बतलाया गया है।

पञ्चरात्र आगमों में भी अनिरुद्ध को अत्यन्त उच्च स्थान प्राप्त है। उनके अनुसार अनिरुद्ध ही पुरुषोत्तम और महाविष्णु, सृष्टि के कर्ता तथा मनुष्यों को उनके कर्मों का फल देने वाले हैं और उन्हीं से सभी अवतारों का आविर्भाव होता है। वे ही पुरुषसूक्त वाले वह चतुर्थांश हैं जिसके विषय में कहा गया है कि "पादोऽस्य दिश्वा भूतानि"।

इस सम्बन्ध में एक प्रश्न यह उठता है कि क्या यह सम्भव नहीं है कि यह नाम भगवान् विष्णु का नाम बनने के पूर्व किसी न्यूनाधिक स्फुट, न्यूनाधिक दैवीविभूतियुक्त या देवत्वप्राप्त ऐसे व्यक्ति के लिए प्रयुक्त होता रहा हो जिसे लोग सृष्टिकर्ता मानते हुए सभी प्रकार के अवरोधों, नियन्त्रणों और व्याघातों से मुक्त समझते रहे हों। क्या यह सम्भव है कि वैष्णवों ने कालान्तर में इसी रूप को अपने उपास्य देव के लिए ग्रहण कर लिया हो। अथवा क्या यह नहीं हो सकता कि अनिरुद्ध पहले एक पुरेतिहासिक (मिथिक) व्यक्ति रहे हों, बाद में उनके नाम की अभिधाशक्ति, उनके अन्यगुणों तथा कृष्ण से उनके सम्बन्ध के कारण उनका प्रवेश वैष्णव धर्म में हो गया हो और फिर कालान्तर में उन्हीं का, जो पहले महत्वपूर्ण दार्शनिक और सृष्टिकारक तत्वों के अधिष्ठातृदेव माने जाते थे, उक्त तत्वों से तादात्म्य स्थापित हो गया हो? यह देखते हुए कि पहले वाले वैष्णव विष्णु के अन्य नामों को बड़ा महत्व देते थे यह मानना कठिन होगा कि इस नाम के शाब्दिक अर्थ का उसके नामधारी के लिए इतना उच्च पद प्राप्त कर लेने में कोई हाथ ही नहीं था।

इस सम्बन्ध में यह उल्लेखनीय है कि लक्ष्मीतन्त्र में श्री लक्ष्मी ने अपनी अव्याहता शक्ति के विषय में कहा है कि उसी का नाम अनिरुद्ध है और मत्स्यपुराण ने कहा है कि अनिरुद्ध का नाम अनिरुद्ध इसलिए है कि प्राणियों में उसका निरोध करने वाला कोई नहीं है ।

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चाणक्य के नीतिपरक पद्यों के छन्द (ON METRICS OF CĀṆAKYAŚ SENTENTIOUS VERSES)

चाणक्यनीतिविषयक विभिन्न ग्रन्थों में श्लोक या अनुष्टुप् के अतिरिक्त अनेक अन्य छन्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है । इनमें से कुछ तो ऐसे हैं जिनका प्रयोग संस्कृत साहित्य में अधिक मिलता है, जैसे उपजाति, शार्दूलविक्रीडित, वसन्ततिलका, आर्या और शिखरिणी; और कुछ ऐसे हैं जो उक्त साहित्य में अपेक्षाकृत कम प्रयुक्त हुए हैं, जैसे दोघक, तोटक, और नर्दटक आदि ।

सबसे कौतूहल की बात तो यह है कि चाणक्य के एक ही पद्य के एक पाठ में एक छन्द का प्रयोग हुआ है और दूसरे में दूसरे का ।

लेखक द्वारा ही सम्पादित और विश्वेश्वरानन्द शोध-संस्थान द्वारा प्रकाशित “चाणक्य-नीतिशाखासम्प्रदाय” नामक ग्रन्थ में निम्नलिखित छन्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है :

१ संवृत्त

- (क) अष्टवर्णिक पादवाले छन्द : १. श्लोक ;
- (ख) एकादशवर्णिक पादवाले छन्द : २. इन्द्रवज्रा, ३. उपेन्द्रवज्रा, ४. उपजाति, ५. दोघक, ६. रयोद्धता, ७. शालिनी, ८. स्वागता;
- (ग) द्वादशवर्णिक पादवाले छन्द : ९. वंशस्थ, १०. इन्द्रवंश, ११. द्वादशवर्णिक उपजाति, १२. तोटक, १३. द्रुतविलम्बित;
- (घ) त्रयोदशवर्णिक पाद वाले छन्द : १४. प्रह्विणी;

- (ड) चतुर्दशवर्णिक पाद वाले छन्द : १५. वसन्ततिलका;
- (च) पञ्चदशवर्णिक पाद वाले छन्द : १६ मालिनी;
- (छ) सप्तदशवर्णिक पाद वाले छन्द : १७. नर्दटक, १८. पृथ्वी, १९. मन्दाक्रान्ता, २०. शिखरिणी, २१. हरिणी;
- (ज) एकोनविंशवर्णिक पाद वाले छन्द : २२. शार्दूलविक्रीडित;
- (झ) एकविंशवर्णिक पाद वाले छन्द : २३. स्रग्धरा ।

२. मात्रावृत्त

- (ञ) मात्राओं द्वारा नियन्त्रित छन्द : २४. आर्या, २५. वैतालीय ।

३. अर्द्ध संवत्त

- (ट) एक पाद में १२ और दूसरे में १३ वर्ण वाले छन्द : २६. पुष्पिताग्रा

इस लेख में लेखक ने ऊपर्युक्त छन्दों के लक्षण बतलाते हुए कुछ अन्य बातों के साथ साथ यह दिखलाया है कि चाणक्य के पद्यों में उन लक्षणों का पालन कहां तक हुआ है और कहां तक नहीं तथा उनमें से प्रत्येक छन्दका प्रयोग चाणक्यनीतिशाखासम्प्रदाय में कितनी बार हुआ है ।

लेखक का कहना है कि संस्कृत पद्यों के पुनरुद्धार में पिङ्गल शास्त्र का अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण योगदान है । संस्कृत कवियों ने अपने पद्यों की रचना में छन्द-सम्बन्धी त्रुटियां बहुत कम की हैं । इसलिए चाणक्य के पद्यों का पुनरुद्धार करने में लेखक विश्वेश्वरानन्द इण्डोलॉजिकल सीरीज में प्रकाशित “चाणक्यनीतिशाखासम्प्रदाय” नामक अपने ग्रन्थ (उक्त सीरीज के अङ्क २६) में पिङ्गल के नियमों का विशेष ध्यान रखा है ।

गो० च० सि०

ज० प्र० सि०

अपकृत्य-सम्बन्धी प्राचीन भारतीय विधि तथा राजकर्मचारियों द्वारा किये गये अपकृत्यों के लिए उक्त विधि के अधीन शासन का प्रतिकर देने का दायित्व ।

(THE LAW OF TORTS UNDER THE HINDU LEGAL SYSTEM AND THE LIABILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT THEREUNDER WRONGS COMMITTED BY ITS SERVANTS)

अपकृत्य (अंग्रेजी 'टार्ट') का तात्पर्य ऐसी अर्थीय (सिविल या दीवानी) अपकार से है जिसका उपचार न्यायालय प्रतिकर दिलाकर कर सके और जो किसी संविदा का उल्लङ्घन मात्र न हो ।

अर्वाचीन विधिशास्त्र और प्राचीन धर्मशास्त्र दोनों ही के अनुसार अपकार दो प्रकार के होते हैं, आपराधिक (क्रिमिनल या फौजदारी, जिन्हें धर्मशास्त्रों में "हिंसामूल या मन्युकृत" कहा गया है) और अर्थीय (सिविल या दीवानी, जिन्हें शास्त्रों में "अर्थमूल" या "धनमूल" कहा गया है) । वही अपकार एक दृष्टि से आपराधिक और दूसरी से अर्थीय हो सकता है । न्यायालय पहले के लिए दण्ड देगा और दूसरे के लिए प्रतिकर दिलायेगा । प्रतिकर का दायित्व संविघल्लङ्घन से भी उद्भूत हो सकता है और किसी के शरीर, सम्पत्ति, सम्मान आदि को क्षति पहुँचाने से भी । इस दूसरे प्रकार के क्षतिकारक अपकार को ही अपकृत्य या 'टार्ट' कहते हैं ।

स्मृतियों में अपकृत्य या 'टार्ट' के लिए न तो कोई विशिष्ट पारिभाषिक शब्द ही है और न उसका अलग कोई विवेचन ही किया गया है; तथापि अनेक प्रमुख स्मृतियों में स्थान स्थान पर विभिन्न परिस्थितियों में अपकृत्यों के लिए प्रतिकर दिलाने का विधान अवश्य पाया जाता है ।

प्रस्तुत लेख के लेखक ने विभिन्न स्मृतियों से उद्धरण देकर यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न किया है कि प्राचीन भारत में यद्यपि अपचार (ट्रेसपास) मात्र के लिए, वह चाहे शरीर के प्रति हो या सम्पत्ति के, प्रतिकर दिलाये जाने का विधान नहीं था, तथापि यदि किसी के शरीर या सम्पत्ति को कोई वास्तविक क्षति पहुँचायी जाय तो उसके लिए प्रतिकर देने का दायित्व अवश्य होता था । प्रतिकर दिलाये जाने का विधान उस दशा के लिए भी था जब किसी के पशु किसी दूसरे का खेत चर लें । चोरी, डाके या लूटमार में गये माल के विषय में चोर का तो यह कर्तव्य था ही कि वह चुरायी गयी सम्पत्ति उसके स्वामी को लौटा दे या उसे उसका मूल्य ही दे दे, किन्तु साथ ही चोर या चोरी गयी सम्पत्ति का पता न लगने पर प्रतिकर देने का दायित्व उन व्यक्तियों (जैसे ग्रामप्रधानों और आरक्षक) पर भी था, जिनका कर्तव्य ही उस क्षेत्र में हुई चोरियों का पता लगाने और चोरों को पकड़ने का था ।

इसके अतिरिक्त, यदि सम्पत्ति के स्वामी को न सम्पत्ति ही दिलायी जा सके और न उसका मूल्य ही तो क्षतिपूरण का उत्तरदायित्व राजा या शासन पर भी होता था। प्रतिकर के लिए स्वयं चोर का दायित्व तो अपकृत्यजन्य अवश्य था, किन्तु इस सम्बन्ध में ग्रामप्रधान, आरक्षक अथवा राजा या शासन का दायित्व अपकृत्य पर आधारित न होकर अपने अपने कर्तव्य के उल्लङ्घन पर ही आधारित था। उन दिनों यह समझा जाता था कि राजा जो कर लेता है वह प्रजा के धनादि के संरक्षण के लिए ही लेता है और यदि वह किसी प्रसङ्गविशेष में यह संरक्षण प्रदान करने में असफल रहे तो उसका कर्तव्य है कि वह अपने कोष से ही प्रजा की क्षति की पूर्ति कर दे।

स्मृतियों में “वाक्पारुष्य” नामक व्यवहारपद के अधीन मानहानि या अपमान करने वाले अपकारों के लिए दण्ड का विधान तो है; किन्तु उनके लिए प्रतिकर दिलाये जाने का कोई विधान नहीं मिलता। इससे जान यह पड़ता है कि या तो इस प्रकार के अपकारों को अपकृत्य समझा ही नहीं जाता था या यह भी सम्भव है कि ऐसे मामलों में न्यायालय अपराधी से वसूल किये गये धन में से ही अपकृत को कुछ धन दिला दिया करते रहे हों।

स्मृतियों में न्यायालय या न्यायप्रशासन के प्रति किये गये लगभग सभी प्रकार के अपराधों के लिए दण्ड का विधान है, यहां तक कि प्राड्विवाक और सभ्य आदि को भी राग, लोभ और भय के वश होकर न्यायापेत निर्णय करने पर दण्डित होना पड़ता था। बल्कि ज्ञानेश्वर के अनुसार तो यदि इस प्रकार का निर्णय राजा की सम्मति या अनुज्ञा से किया गया हो तो राजा भी दण्ड का भागी होगा। किन्तु स्मृतिकारों में एक कात्यायन ही ऐसे हैं जिन्होंने इस सन्दर्भ में प्रतिकर का विधान किया है। उनके अनुसार जान बूझ कर अन्यायपूर्ण निर्णय करने पर प्राड्विवाक और सभ्य दण्ड के भागी तो होंगे ही, उनके ऊपर उसी के साथ पराजित पक्षकार को प्रतिकर देने का भी दायित्व होगा।

प्रातिनिधिक दायित्व

प्रातिनिधिक दायित्व का सिद्धान्त अपकृत्य-सम्बन्धी आधुनिक विधि का एक महत्वपूर्ण विषय है। लेखक के मतानुसार प्राचीन भारत में एक के द्वारा किये गये अपकार या अपराध के लिए कोई दूसरा तब तक उत्तरदायी नहीं समझा जा सकता था जब तक यह न सिद्ध हो जाय कि उक्त अपकार या अपराध उसके आदेश या प्रेरणा से किया गया था, या उससे उसने स्वयं लाभ उठाया है, या वह उसके किसी सेवक या नियोगकृत द्वारा उस बीच किया गया था जब उक्त सेवक या नियोगकृत अपने स्वामी के लाभार्थ कार्यरत था अथवा वह ऐसे सेवक द्वारा किया गया था जो उस प्रकार के कार्य के लिए अभेक्षित योग्यता नहीं रखता था। अपकृत्य का रूप करण भी ले सकता है और अकरण भी। आरक्षकों के अकरण के कारण राजा या शासन के दायित्व का उल्लेख पहले ही किया जा चुका है, किन्तु उसमें प्रातिनिधिक दायित्व की कोई बात नहीं आती।

राजकर्मचारियों के अपकृत्यों के लिए शासन का दायित्व

एतत्सम्बन्धी अर्वाचीन भारतीय विधि, जो बहुत कुछ तत्सम्बन्धी आङ्ग्ल विधि का अनुसरण करती है, कर्मचारियों द्वारा किये गये अपकृत्यों को दो वर्गों में विभक्त करती है। एक वर्ग तो उन अपकृत्यों का है जो शासन की प्रभुत्व शक्ति के प्रयोग के मध्य किये जाय और दूसरा उनका जो ऐसे व्यवसाय या कारबार के प्रसङ्ग में किये जाय जिसे करने का साधारण व्यक्तियों को भी समान अधिकार है। आङ्ग्ल विधिशास्त्र के अनुसार इंग्लैण्ड का राजा किसी अपराध या अपकृत्य के लिए दोषी नहीं ठहराया जा सकता और न उस पर उस देश के न्यायालय में कोई आपराधिक या अर्थीय वाद ही चलाया जा सकता है। इसी आधार पर इंग्लैण्ड और भारत दोनों ही देशों की विधि के अनुसार राजकर्मचारियों के ऐसे अपकृत्यों के लिए जो उनके द्वारा शासन की प्रभुत्वशक्ति के प्रयोग के मध्य किये जाय शासन पर प्रतिकर का कोई दायित्व नहीं आता; किन्तु उपर्युक्त दूसरे वर्ग में आने वाले अपकृत्यों के लिए राजकर्मचारी का दायित्व तो होगा ही, उसी के साथ प्रातिनिधिक दायित्व के सिद्धान्त के आधार पर शासन का भी होगा। प्रस्तुत लेख के लेखक का कहना है कि प्राचीन भारत में राजा अदण्ड्य नहीं था और उस पर उसी के देश के न्यायालय में वाद चलाये जाने में कोई सैद्धान्तिक बाधा भी नहीं थी। इसलिए शासन की प्रभुत्व-शक्ति के प्रयोग के मध्य किये गये अपकृत्य और किसी व्यवसाय या कारबार के प्रसङ्ग में किये गये अपकृत्य में प्राचीन भारतीय विधि की दृष्टि में कोई अन्तर नहीं था। दूसरे, उक्त विधि को प्रातिनिधिक दायित्व का सिद्धान्त भी अपने विशुद्ध रूप में मान्य नहीं था। अतः राजकर्मचारियों के अपकृत्यों के लिए शासन के दायित्व के प्रश्न पर प्राचीन और अर्वाचीन विधियों में अन्तर होना स्वाभाविक है।

प्राचीन और अर्वाचीन भारतीय विधियों के उपर्युक्त अन्तर और उसके परिणामों को स्पष्ट करने के लिए प्रस्तुत लेख के लेखक ने उच्चतम न्यायालय द्वारा निर्णीत दो विवादों का विस्तृत रूप से उल्लेख करते हुए यह बतलाया है कि यदि उक्त विवादों का निर्णय प्राचीन भारतीय विधि के अनुसार किया गया होता तो निर्णय उच्चतम न्यायालय के निर्णयों से सम्भवतः भिन्न होते।

एक साभिप्राय गज सिंह मुद्राकृति : एक आलङ्कारिक चित्रण (ELEPHANT-AND-LION MOTIF: A GLYPHIC DEPICTION)

यह लेख एक ऐसी मुद्राकृति के विषय में है जो पञ्जाब राज्यान्तर्गत लुधियाना जिले के संघोल नामक स्थान में एक प्राचीन टीले पर पायी गयी है और इस समय वायुसेना के एक अनायुक्त अधिकारी श्री जी० बी० शर्मा के पास विद्यमान है ।

प्रस्तुत मुद्राकृति में एक हाथी एक सिंह को रौंदता हुआ दिखलाया गया है और रौंदे जाते हुए सिंह को इस प्रकार दिखलाया गया है मानो असह्य पीड़ा के कारण उसकी जिह्वा बाहर निकल पड़ी हो और वह चीत्कार कर रहा हो । कला की दृष्टि से पूरा चित्र बड़ा ही सजीव और प्रभावोत्पादक बन पड़ा है और उसे देखने से ही जान पड़ता है कि कलाकार अपनी कला में कितना निपुण और दक्ष रहा होगा ।

प्राचीन भारतीय साहित्य में जहां कहीं भी गज और सिंह का वर्णन एक साथ आया है वहां लगभग सर्वत्र सिंह को ही गज पर अभिभावी होते दिखलाया गया है और प्राचीन भारतीय कला में भी शायद ही कहीं ऐसा हो कि सिंह को गज से पराभूत होते चित्रित किया गया हो । इस दृष्टि से भी प्रस्तुत मुद्राकृति की विलक्षणता स्पष्ट है ।

प्रश्न यह है कि प्रस्तुत मुद्राकृति में जो कुछ अङ्कित किया गया है वह एक कलाकृति मात्र है या उसका कुछ गूढ़ अभिप्राय भी है । जहां तक सिक्कों का सम्बन्ध है, उनपर पाये जाने वाले इस प्रकार के आलेखनों को विद्वानों ने अभिप्राययुक्त माना है । उदाहरणार्थ एक कलचुरि शासक के सिक्के पर अङ्कित सिंह द्वारा गज के पराभव को डा० मीराशी ने उक्त सिक्के के शासक द्वारा एक गंगवंशीय राजा के, जिनका वंशीय प्रतीक गज था, पराजय का द्योतक माना है । इसी प्रकार, क्या प्रस्तुत मुद्राकृति के विषय में भी यह नहीं सोचा जा सकता कि उसपर पाये जाने वाले आलेखन का भी अभिप्राय किसी ऐसे शासक द्वारा, जिसका वंश-प्रतीक गज रहा हो किसी ऐसे राजा का, जिसका वंश-प्रतीक सिंह रहा हो, पराजय व्यक्त करना ही हो ? ऐसा होना असंभव तो नहीं है किन्तु प्रमाण के अभाव में इस विचार को कल्पनामात्र ही समझा जायगा ।

वास्तविक जीवन में गज द्वारा सिंह का पराभव उतना ही साधारण है जितना सिंह द्वारा गज का । इसलिए यह असंभव नहीं है कि प्रस्तुत मुद्राकृति एक साधारण घटना की कलात्मक अनुकृतिमात्र हो ।

जहां तक प्रस्तुत मुद्राकृति के समय का प्रश्न है, पुरालेखीय या स्तरविन्यासविषयक साक्ष्य के अभाव में इस विषय में निश्चित रूप से कुछ कह सकना कठिन है, किन्तु रूप, आकार और चित्रण शैली को देखते हुए कहा जा सकता है कि वह उत्तर गुप्तकाल (ईसा की छठी शताब्दी) या उसके बाद की होगी ।

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प्राचीन साहित्य और कला में इन्द्र (INDRA IN EARLY LITERATURE AND ART)

इन्द्र की वैदिक वाङ्मय में बड़ी महिमा गायी गयी है। द्युस्थानीय देवताओं में उन्हें सर्वोच्च स्थान प्राप्त है। उक्त वाङ्मय में वे ही देवताओं के सेनानी हैं, वृत्रामुर तथा अन्य असुरों के विनाशक हैं, प्रकाश और वृष्टि के दाता हैं तथा विभिन्न वैदिक यज्ञों के प्रमुख देवता हैं। उनका प्रधान अस्त्र वज्र है, यद्यपि धनुष्, बाण और इन्द्रध्वज से भी उनका सम्बन्ध है। कुछ देवताओं से उनका घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है और कुछ अन्य से अपेक्षाकृत कम। इन अन्तिमोल्लिखित देवताओं में विष्णु का नाम भी लिया जा सकता है, जिनके विषय में कहा गया है कि उन्होंने असुरों के साथ इन्द्र के युद्ध में उनकी अनेक बार सहायता की।

इन्द्र का यह महत्व बहुत काल तक अक्षुण्ण रहा। किन्तु मुख्यतः वैष्णव धर्म के उत्थान के कारण ईसा पूर्व लगभग तीसरी शताब्दी के पश्चात् स्थिति में बड़ा अन्तर आ गया और इन्द्र का स्थान विष्णु तथा विष्णु के अवतार बामुदेव श्रीकृष्ण ने ले लिया। इस सम्बन्ध में पुराणों में एक अत्यन्त रोचक कथा देखने को मिलती है। देश के अन्य प्रदेशों की भांति शूरसेन जनपद में भी इन्द्र की पूजा वर्षा के अधिष्ठातृदेवता के रूप में हुआ करती थी। इस पूजा के अवसर पर एक बड़ा भारी उत्सव हुआ करता था, जिसे इन्द्रमह कहते थे। कृष्ण ने इस उत्सव को रोक दिया, जिससे रुष्ट होकर इन्द्र ने समस्त ब्रज मण्डल को घोर वर्षा करके जलप्लावित करने की ठान ली। किन्तु अन्ततोगत्वा इन्द्र को ही मुंह की खानी पड़ी और कृष्ण के पास जाकर क्षमा याचना करनी पड़ी।

उपर्युक्त कथा को देकर पौराणिकों का स्पष्ट मन्तव्य वैदिक देवता इन्द्र को नीचा दिखलाना और भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण को ऊपर उठाना था। गुप्तकाल के इतिहास को देखने से जान पड़ता है कि उनका यह मन्तव्य सिद्ध भी हो गया और उस समय तक इन्द्र का महत्व बहुत कुछ समाप्त हो गया।

महाभारत के अनुसार इन्द्रमह का उत्सव चेदिराज उपरिचरवसु के समय में आरम्भ हुआ था। चेदिराज से प्रसन्न होकर इन्द्र ने उन्हें एक ध्वज प्रदान किया था, जिसका नाम इन्द्रध्वज था। बराहमिहिर की बृहत्संहिता के अनुसार इन्द्रध्वज सर्वप्रथम विष्णु ने ही असुरों को भयभीत करने के लिए इन्द्र को प्रदान किया था। इन्द्रमह के उत्सव में इसी इन्द्रध्वज की बड़ी सजधज के साथ पूजा हुआ करती थी।

गुप्तकाल के पूर्व इन्द्र की पूजा का बड़ा चलन था। पश्चिम उत्तर प्रदेश और राजस्थान में वैदिक यज्ञों से सम्बद्ध अनेक यूप पाये गये हैं और इसी प्रकार के यूपों का पता दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया में भी चला है।

मनुष्य रूप में इन्द्र की प्रतिमाएं भी इस देश के अनेक भागों में मिली हैं और प्राचीन जनपदों के अनेक सिक्कों और मुद्राओं पर कल्पवृक्ष, वज्र और इन्द्रध्वज के चित्रण देखने को मिलते हैं। पाञ्चाल राजवंश के ताम्बे के सिक्कों पर, जो ईसा पूर्व १५० से लेकर सन् २०० ईसवी तक के कहे जाते हैं, इन्द्र की प्रतिमाएं अङ्कित मिलती हैं। इन्द्र की प्रतिमाओं के दर्शन इन्द्रमित्र और उसी वंश के दो अन्य राजाओं, जयगुप्त और जयमित्र, के सिक्कों पर भी मिलते हैं।

ईसा पूर्व दूसरी शताब्दी के भाजा के तक्षित चित्रों में देवराज इन्द्र एक बड़ी सी पंगड़ी बांधकर ऐरावत पर बैठे हुए और साथ में एक अङ्कुर लिये हुए दिखलाये गये हैं। उनमें उनके साथ एक दूसरा व्यक्ति भी है जो हाथ में ध्वज लिये हुए है।

सांची सङ्ग्रहालय में एक तक्षित प्रस्तर मूर्ति है, जिसके विषय में प्रस्तुत लेख के लेखक का मत है कि उसके दोनों ओर जो गजारोही उत्कीर्ण हैं वे ऐरावत पर आरुढ़ इन्द्र ही हैं। इन्द्र के साथ दोनों ओर कामदेव भी विद्यमान हैं, एक ओर मकरध्वज लिये हुए और दूसरी ओर पञ्चशर।

गान्धार, मथुरा, अमरावती तथा अन्य स्थानों में ईसा की प्रथम और पञ्चम शताब्दी के बीच की इन्द्र की अनेक मूर्तियां भी उपलब्ध हुई हैं, जिनमें सिर पर किरीट अवश्य दिखलाया गया है। इनमें से कुछ मूर्तियों में दोनों नेत्रों के अतिरिक्त एक नेत्र मस्तक के मध्य में भी दिखलाया गया है।

बौद्ध मूर्तिकला में इन्द्र को ब्रह्मा के साथ बुद्ध के परिचर के रूप में अङ्कित किया गया है और कहीं कहीं तो उन्हें पञ्चशिख गन्धर्व के साथ बुद्ध की वन्दना करते हुए भी दिखलाया गया है। इन प्रतिमाओं में इन्द्र अधिकतर वज्र और अमृतघट लिये रहते हैं। इन्द्र की जो कल्पना बौद्ध मूर्तिकला में पायी जाती है उसमें और वैदिक तथा उत्तर वैदिक हिन्दू काल के इन्द्र के स्वरूप में बड़ा अन्तर है।

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कौशाम्बी से प्राप्त मानव अवशेष (HUMAN REMAINS FROM KAUSĀMBĪ)

प्रस्तुत लेख के लेखक ने कौशाम्बी में हुए पुरातत्वीय उत्खनन से प्राप्त मानव अस्थियों पर गुप्त, दत्त और वसु द्वारा लिखित लेख में छायाचित्रों और रेखाचित्रों के अभाव का उल्लेख करते हुए उनके द्वारा (कुल ६ मानव अस्थियों के आधार पर) उक्त मानवों के लिङ्ग और वय के सम्बन्ध में निकाले गये निष्कर्षों पर सन्देह व्यक्त किया है। सन्देह उन्हें उक्त उत्खनन के निर्देशक श्री शर्मा की “द एक्सकवेन्स एट कौशाम्बी” नामक पुस्तक में व्यक्त कुछ धारणाओं के सम्बन्ध में भी है।

लेखक के विचार में श्री शर्मा के लिए यह आवश्यक था कि वे अपने इस कथन की पुष्टि में कि उक्त उत्खनन में पाये गये मानव-कपाल-खण्ड एक आकारविशेष में सजाये गये थे और उनके ऊपर ईंटों का एक सुयोजित आच्छादन भी रहा होगा उस परत और स्थल का, जिसमें उक्त कपाल-खण्ड पाये गये थे ? छायाचित्र और रेखाचित्र भी प्रस्तुत करते। इस सम्बन्ध में उसका अनुमान है कि मानव कपाल के ये खण्ड सम्भवतः उस स्थान पर स्थित किसी दीवाल के गिर पड़ने से ही इस प्रकार दब गये होंगे।

लेखक ने श्री शर्मा के इस कथन पर शङ्का व्यक्त की है कि पायी गयी मानव अस्थियों में से कुछ “वी” के आकार में सजी थीं और उन पर कटने के चिह्न भी थे। उसके विचार में अस्थियां केवल एक व्यक्ति की न होकर कम से कम दो (और अधिक से अधिक ६) व्यक्तियों की होनी चाहिए। उसका कहना है कि वे वास्तव में कितने व्यक्तियों की थीं यह जानने के लिए गहन अध्ययन और प्रयोगशालीय परीक्षण अपेक्षित है। उसके अनुसार यह बात भी कम महत्व की नहीं है कि गुप्त आदि के लेख में अस्थियों पर कटने के चिह्न का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।

श्री शर्मा ने अपनी उपर्युक्त पुस्तक में ब्राह्मण आदि ग्रन्थों से अनेक उद्धरण देकर यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न किया है कि जो अस्थियां एक आकारविशेष में रखी जान पड़ती थीं वे पुरुषमेधीय श्येनचित्ति की थीं। प्रस्तुत लेख के लेखक ने इसमें सन्देह व्यक्त करते हुए कहा है कि इस निष्कर्ष के पुरातत्वीय समर्थन के लिए शास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों से उद्धरण देने की इतनी आवश्यकता नहीं थी जितनी जरा और ठीक ढङ्ग से उत्खनन करने की।

श्री गुप्त आदि ने अपने लेख में कौशाम्बी से प्राप्त अस्थियों के जो मापविषयक सूचनाएँ दिये हैं उनकी अन्य स्थानों से प्राप्त अस्थियों के सूचनाओं से तुलना करने पर पता चलता है कि पूर्वोक्त सूचनाएँ तक्षशिला और ब्रह्मगिरि से प्राप्त अस्थियों के सूचनाओं से मिलते जुलते हैं। इनमें से तक्षशिला और ब्रह्मगिरि से प्राप्त अस्थियों के विषय में यह माना जाता है कि वे क्रमशः ‘श्वेत हूणों’ और ‘शक ईरानियों’ की हैं। श्री शर्मा के ही अनुसार,

उन्हें हूणों के आक्रमण के कतिपय पुरातत्वीय चिह्न मिले हैं। अतः प्रस्तुत लेख के लेखक का मत है कि कौशाम्बी से प्राप्त मानव अवशेषों के विषय में श्री शर्मा और श्री गुप्त आदि ने जो विचार व्यक्त किये हैं उनका प्रस्तुत लेख में सङ्केतित त्रुटियों तथा उक्त अवशेषों के हूणावशेष होने की सम्भावना को ध्यान में रख कर सम्यक्परीक्षण होना आवश्यक है।

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कालिदास और प्रकृति (KĀLIDĀSA AND NATURE)

कालिदास के काव्य के विषय में परम्परागत मत व्यक्त करने के लिए 'सुभाषितरत्नकोष' के निम्नलिखित श्लोक से बढ़ कर कोई दूसरी उक्ति नहीं है :

कथञ्चित्कालिदासस्य कालेन बहुना मया ।

अवगाधेव गम्भीरा मसृणौघा सरस्वती ॥

किन्तु आजकल के कतिपय विद्वानों का मत यह है कि कालिदास ने अधिकतर कविसमय का ही पालन किया है यद्यपि राइडर प्रभृति कुछ विद्वान् यह भी कहते हैं कि प्रकृति का चित्रण करने में कालिदास जितने सफल हुए हैं उतना शायद ही कोई दूसरा कवि हुआ हो; उदाहरणार्थ, उनका काले केशों की काले भौरे से उपमा देना, अशोक वृक्ष के विषय में कहना कि उसके पुष्प इस प्रकार झरते हैं मानों अश्रुवर्षा हो रही हो या दिवावसान पर बन्द होते हुए कमल के विषय में कहना कि वह भ्रमर के बाहर रह जाने के कारण स्वयं बन्द होने में दुःख का अनुभव करता है अत्यन्त ही सुन्दर उक्तियाँ हैं।

इस सम्बन्ध में लेखक का अपना विचार यह है कि उपर्युक्त दोनों मत इस कारण ठीक नहीं हैं कि वे प्राकृतिक वस्तुओं के कालिदास द्वारा किये गये स्फुट चित्रणों पर ही आधारित हैं और कालिदास की सभी रचनाओं में आद्योपान्त सञ्चरित हो रहे सौन्दर्य को देख सकने में असमर्थ हैं। उसका कहना है कि कालिदास की सभी रचनाएं अखण्ड और अविभाज्य हैं और प्रकृतिपरक, मानवपरक और देवपरक आदि विभागों में उन्हें विभक्त करना भारतीय परम्परा के प्रतिकूल भी है।

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किसी वस्तुविशेष या घटनाविशेष का वर्णन करने में सम्भव है कालिदास ने कविसमय का पालन किया हो, किन्तु उन्होंने जो कुछ भी लिखा है उस सब में उन्होंने एक नयी ही परम्परा चलाने का उद्योग किया है। संस्कृत के कवियों में कालिदास ही एक ऐसे कवि हैं जिन्होंने, प्रतीकरूप में ही क्यों न हो, अपनी अधिकांश रचनाओं में, वे चाहे काव्य के रूप में हों या नाटक के, प्रकृति को एक केन्द्रीभूत वर्ण्यविषय का रूप दिया है।

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ऐसा जान पड़ता है कि कालिदास के अनुसार प्रकृति के गूढ़ तत्त्वों और वास्तविक अर्थ का अनुभव मानव-हृदय अनुभूति की इन तीन क्रमिक अवस्थाओं में ही कर सकता है— विषयासक्ति, रसानुभूति और आत्मानुभूति। प्रथम आकर्षण के अपने ही आनन्दोन्माद और हृषविश हैं। बाद में वही वियोग की अग्नि में तपकर निष्काम प्रेम के रूप में निखर उठता है, किन्तु उसका अन्तिम और उत्कृष्ट रूप तपस्या द्वारा ही प्राप्त हो सकता है। लेखक का मत है कि कालिदास की सभी रचनाएं इसी दृष्टि से वर्गीकृत की जा सकती हैं। ऋतुसंहार और मालविकाग्निमित्र में प्रणय का प्रथम सोपान ही दृष्टिगोचर है; मेघदूत और विक्रमोर्वशीय में द्वितीय तथा कुमारसम्भव और अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल में तृतीय या चरम। रघुवंश में भी यही बात देखी जा सकती है। वह दिलीप और उनकी रानी की तपस्या तथा उसके सुपरिणामों से आरम्भ होकर रघुवंशियों के अन्तिम राजा अग्निवर्ण के विलासितापूर्ण जीवन और उसके दुष्परिणाम के साथ ही समाप्त होता है।

इस प्रकार का विश्लेषण ध्वनिवादियों द्वारा विकसित सिद्धान्तों के भी अनुरूप है। कालिदास के काव्यों में पाये जाने वाले प्रकृतिचित्रण का प्रत्येक विवरण रसध्वनि की दृष्टि से असंख्य व्यञ्जनाओं से भरपूर है।

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प्रकृति का चित्रण करने में कालिदास की कविसमय के बन्धनों से मुक्त सार्वकालिक कला का एक उत्कृष्ट उदाहरण गङ्गा और यमुना के सङ्गम के उस वर्णन में मिलता है जो महाकवि ने अपने रघुवंश के तेरहवें सर्ग में दिया है। उक्त वर्णन में मुक्तमयी यष्टि, सितपङ्कजमाला, खगपंक्ति, चन्द्रप्रभा और तम, शुभ्र शरदभ्रलेखा तथा स्वयं भगवान् शिव के चित्रणों को जिस प्रकार एक सूत्र में पिरोया गया है उसमें कविसमय का पावन क्या सहायता कर सकता था ?

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न्याय-वैशेषिक दर्शन में लक्षण का आशय और आधार (SCOPE AND BASIS OF LAKṢAṆA IN THE NYĀYA- VAIŚEṢIKA SCHOOLS)

किसी पदार्थ का लक्षण देते समय इस बात पर ध्यान रखना आवश्यक है कि उक्त लक्षण में लक्ष्य का केवल वही चिह्न या लक्षण दिया जाय जो उसका अपना विशेष चिह्न या असाधारण धर्म हो। इसके अतिरिक्त, वह चिह्न ऐसा होना चाहिए जो केवल लक्ष्य में ही पाया जाता हो और जिसका उससे भिन्न पदार्थों में, वे चाहे सजातीय हों या विजातीय, नितान्त अभाव हो; क्योंकि लक्षण में व्यावर्तकत्व के प्रयोजन की सिद्धि तभी हो सकेगी। इसके अतिरिक्त, लक्षण को लक्ष्य के अभिधानविशेष (व्यवहार) का भी ध्यान रखना ही होगा। लक्षण के प्रयोजन ही हैं व्यावृत्ति और व्यवहार। इन बातों का ध्यान रखकर दिया गया लक्षण अव्याप्ति, अतिव्याप्ति और असम्भव के दोषों से मुक्त होगा।

एक बात और है। लक्षण या परिभाषा सदा ही वाचिक, अर्थात् अभिव्यक्ति के रूप में, होती है। वह लक्षण जो किसी पदार्थ में उसके व्यावर्तक धर्म या गुण के रूप में पाया जाता है उस लक्षण से जो उक्त लक्षण को वचन के रूप में अभिव्यक्त करता है भिन्न है। अनेक पूर्वाचार्यों ने इस बात पर ध्यान नहीं दिया था; क्योंकि अपने यहां लक्षण शब्द के इन दोनों अर्थों को व्यक्त करने के लिए अलग शब्द नहीं थे, लक्षण शब्द से ही, जो केवल गुण और धर्म का वाची है, दूसरे लक्षण का भी काम लिया जाता रहा।

किसी पदार्थ का वाचिक लक्षण देने में यह दिखलाना आवश्यक है कि लक्ष्य का जो असाधारण धर्म है वह न तो किसी अन्य सजातीय पदार्थ में पाया जाता है और न किसी विजातीय में। लक्षण देते समय इन सभी पदार्थों का एक साथ उपस्थित होना सम्भव नहीं है। इसलिए लक्षण देने में प्रत्यक्ष और उपमिति के अतिरिक्त अनुमान का भी सहारा लेना आवश्यक होगा और यह अनुमान केवलव्यतिरेकी अनुमान ही हो सकता है, यद्यपि कुछ आचार्यों के मतानुसार उसे केवलव्यतिरेकी नहीं अपि तु अन्वयव्यतिरेकी ही होना चाहिए।

कुछ आचार्य इसी प्रसङ्ग में आकार शब्द का भी प्रयोग करते हैं। उनका कहना है कि वह लक्ष्य को सजातीय और विजातीय पदार्थों से व्यवच्छिन्न करने में सहायक प्रमाण के रूप में उपयोगी हो सकता है।

कतिपय आचार्य इस सम्बन्ध में शब्दप्रामाण्य के भी समर्थक हैं, किन्तु उसका अवसर तो तभी आ सकता है जब लक्ष्य प्रत्यक्ष और अनुमान दोनों से ही परे हो।

व्यतिरेकी अनुमान के आधार पर लक्षण देने की न्यायवैशेषिक प्रणाली को अपनाने से लक्ष्य का अभावसूचक पक्ष ही सामने आयेगा। जब लक्ष्य किसी अपलापी भाव का सूचक हो तो लक्षण का रूप भी अपलापी या अभावसूचक ही होगा। किन्तु यदि जिस भाव को लक्षण द्वारा व्यक्त करना है वह भावसूचक या यथार्थसूचक हो तो वहां अपलापी या अभावसूचक लक्षण नहीं दिया जाना चाहिए। ऐसे स्थलों पर अन्वयव्यतिरेकी अनुमान का आश्रय लेना आवश्यक होगा।

लक्षण का जो केवलव्यतिरेकी स्वरूप है लक्ष्यनिरूपण का उससे भिन्न एक और भी ढङ्ग है। इसमें 'अत्यन्ताभाव', 'रहित', 'अनधिकरण' आदि शब्दों को लगाकर निरूपण की व्याप्ति को लक्ष्य तक सीमित कर देते हैं। किन्तु इसका वर्णनात्मक मूल्य ही विशेष है। इस प्रकार के वर्णन को लक्षण नहीं कहा जा सकता।

अन्त में प्रस्तुत लेख के लेखक का मत है कि हमारे पूर्वजों ने पदार्थों के असाधारण लक्षणों या चिह्नों पर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता का अनुभव तो कर लिया था, किन्तु वे किसी पदार्थ का लक्षण (या परिभाषा) देने और उसका असाधारण धर्म या चिह्न बतलाने में जो अन्तर है उसे पूर्णरूपेण नहीं समझ पाये थे। इसी सम्बन्ध में उसकी यह भी धारणा है कि लक्षण (या परिभाषा) की भावना का उदय और विकास अपने यहां बहुत बाद की चीज है।

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मुण्डकोपनिषद् १.२.४. में देवी औरकाली शब्दों की विभिन्न व्याख्याएं (DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF DEVĪ AND KĀLĪ IN MUṆḌAKA UPANIṢAD)

प्राचीनतम वैदिक वाङ्मय में प्रमुख देवता पुंजातीय ही हैं और देवियों का स्थान अपेक्षाकृत गौण है। देवियों से सम्बन्ध रखने वाले कुछ सूक्त तो, जैसे उपस् और अदिति के सूक्त, बहुत ही सुन्दर हैं। उत्तरवैदिक कालीन वाङ्मय में, अर्थात् प्राचीनतम उपनिषदों में (बृहदारण्यक, छान्दोग्य, ऐतरेय, तैत्तिरीय, ईश, कठ, केन, प्रश्न, मुण्डक, माण्डूक्य और श्वेताश्वत्तर में) देवी शब्द केवल एक बार आया है।

मुण्डकोपनिषद् १. २. ४ में निम्नलिखित वाक्य आया है :

काली कराली च मनोजवा च
सुलोहिता या च सुधूम्रवर्णा ।
स्फुलिङ्गिणी विश्वरूपी च देवी
लेलायमाना इति सप्तजिह्वाः ॥

यह बात विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय है, कि इस वाक्य में ही काली शब्द का सर्वप्रथम प्रयोग हुआ है । इस सम्बन्ध में प्रश्न यह है कि यहां काली और देवी शब्दों का प्रयोग विशेषण के रूप में हुआ है या संज्ञा के, काली ने तब तक देवी का स्थान ग्रहण कर लिया था या ये दोनों शब्द अग्नि की सप्त जिह्वाओं के साधारण स्वरूप से ही सम्बद्ध हैं ।

विद्वान् लेखक ने उपर्युक्त वाक्य के विभिन्न विद्वानों द्वारा किये गये जर्मन, फ्रेंच और अंग्रेजी अनुवादों, संज्ञावाची शब्द देव, देवता और देवत्वम्, विशेषणवाची शब्द दिव्य और दैव तथा क्रियाविशेषण शब्द देवत्रा के अर्थों पर विचार करके यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न किया है कि मुण्डकोपनिषद् १. २. ४ में देवी शब्द को विशेषण ही होना चाहिए और उसका सम्बन्ध उसके पूर्ववर्ती 'विश्वरूपी' शब्द से ही न होकर अग्नि की सातों जिह्वाओं या ज्वालाओं में से प्रत्येक से है । लेखक का विचार है कि मुण्डकोपनिषद् के उपर्युक्त वाक्य में अग्नि की सातों जिह्वाओं को पृथक् पृथक् देवी का पद प्रदान किया गया है ।

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ज० प्र० सि०

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ALANĀKĀRASARVASVA of Ruyyaka, with *Saṅjīvanī* commentary by Vidyācakravartin, Text and Study by Kumari, S. S. Janaki, M. A., M. Litt. Edited by Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras, Meharchand Lachmandas, The Sanskrit Book Depot, Delhi-6.

Reviewed by Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer, Ex Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University and Sanskrit University, Varanasi.

The Alanākārasarvasva of Ruyyaka is a standard work on the *Alanākāras* and though it came after the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, it has been held in high esteem in Sanskrit literary circles for many centuries now. Writers like Viśvanātha, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha, Appaya Dīkṣita and Jagannātha Paṇḍita have discussed the definitions of Ruyyaka, favourably or otherwise, but always with great respect. It has already been published three times, once with the commentary *Vimarśinī* of Jayaratha, by the Nirṇaya Sagara Press, a second time with the commentary of Samudrabandha in the Trivandram Sanskrit Series and for the third time by Pt. Gauri Nath Pathak, in the Sarada Sanskrit Series, Benares, with his own gloss, the *Mahālakṣmī*. Though the *Vimarśinī* of Jayaratha is a very scholarly commentary and contains many observations of great theoretical value, it cannot be said to explain the Sarvasva word for word, so that students do not get from it the help which they expect in understanding the Sarvasva. The commentary of Samudrabandha, though helpful, does not go into the intricacies of the *Alanākāras*. The third commentary has the disadvantage of being a brief one and, above all, of not being an ancient one, so much more preferable for an ancient text. It is in these circumstances that one heartily welcomes the publication of Śrī Vidyācakravartin's commentary *Saṅjīvanī* on the Sarvasva. By a rare coincidence another edition of the same commentary by Dr. R. C. Dvivedi appeared in the same year, that is, 1965. Both have been published in Delhi, by two well-known firms of Sanskrit publishers, Meharchand Lachmandas and Motilal Banarsidas.

Ku. S. S. Janaki's edition of the *Saṅjvanī* gives, as Appendix I, Vidyācakravartin's *Alaṅkārasarvasva-niṣkṛṣṭārthkārikās*, edited on the basis of three manuscripts. To Dr. R. C. Dvivedi, however, goes the credit of having first published this minor but valuable work, because he had already published it earlier, with translation, in his *Alaṅkāramīmāṃsā*. Ku. S. S. Jānaki, who had the benefit of her Professor Dr. V. Raghavan's advice and guidance, has used as many as nine manuscripts for her edition of the *Saṅjvanī* and the *Sarvasva*. For the latter, she has also utilised previous editions, the various readings recorded or discussed in the *Vimarśinī* and two manuscripts not connected with the *Saṅjvanī*. Dr. R. C. Dvivedi has used only one manuscript for the *Saṅjvinī*, as he names it, which, fortunately for him, was a fairly correct one. For the *Sarvasva*, he has used not only previous editions but also several manuscripts of which some are of Kashmiri origin, a distinct advantage for a Kashmiri work. He has also made a thorough study of the *Vimarśinī*, of which, by the way, he has prepared a new critical edition which discusses textual variations and errors which had crept into the *Sarvasva* already at the time of Jayaratha. Dr. R. C. Dvivedi's Introduction in Sanskrit discusses in some detail textual problems of the *Sarvasva* arising out of the observations of Jayaratha. In the *Sarvasva*, in some places, he has preferred Jayaratha's reading to that of Vidyācakravartin's, explained in the *Saṅjvanī*. As this is not a review of Dr. R. C. Dvivedi's edition also, nor a comparative review of the two editions, I shall now continue my observations on Ku. S. S. Janaki's edition and study.

By this critical edition of the *Saṅjvanī* of Śrī Vidyācakravartin, based on as many as nine manuscripts, the editor and her guru Dr. Raghavan have rendered a great service, not only to students but also to advanced scholars. Śrī Vidyācakravartin was a comparatively late writer as he belonged to the end of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century A. D. He was well-versed in all the śāstrās and he had a special qualification to comment on an *ālaṅkārika* work of Kashmiri origin because he not only knew the Kashmiri *ālaṅkārika* works well but he was also well acquainted with the literature of Kashmir Śaivism which, as is well known, exercised a great influence on the development of Kashmiri Poetics. The most important Kashmiri writer on *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, Ānandavardhana, not only wrote the *Dhvanyāloka*, the basic work on the subject, but also the *Tattvāloka*, a philosophical work on Kashmir Śaivism, now unfortunately not available. Vidyācakravartin writes in a very simple language and goes into all the fine points in the definitions of the *alāṅkāras*. The *Sarvasva*,

read with his commentary, would be the best foundation for a thorough grasp of the distinctions between the different *alaṅkāra*-s. In that sense, it is second only to the *Rasagaṅgādhara*.

Ku. S. S. Janaki, not only gives a very carefully edited text of the *Saṅjīvanī* but also an equally carefully edited text of the *Sarvasva* and the *Niṣkṛṣṭārthakārikās*. Variant readings in the *Alaṅkārasarvasva* according to three editions forming Appendix II and an Index of quotations found in the *Sarvasva* and the *Saṅjīvanī*, with the sources wherever traced, are also part of the edition.

The most valuable part of the edition is the Introduction. It is a study of the two texts, especially of the *Saṅjīvanī*. The editor has availed herself of the opportunity to collect all available information on the commentator, his date, his works, his ancestors and the historical data found in his works, especially those relating to the Hoysala dynasty of Southern India. This section concludes with a table giving the names of the successive Hoysala Kings and the poets who adorned their courts. Our commentator is the third court-poet bearing the name *Vidyācakravartin*. Some unpublished works of his are also mentioned.

The best part of the Introduction is the one where the editor points out all the noteworthy points in *Vidyācakravartin's* *alaṅkāra*-writings. He has not made any major contribution to the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, but he has made small contributions in detail, some of which have been incorporated by later writers in their works, for instance, the editor has pointed out (Int. p. 54.) that it was from *Vidyācakravartin* that Appaya Dikṣita takes and incorporates into his *Citrāmīmāṃsā* a passage where the moon and the face, as *upamāna* and *upameya*, are utilised in different ways, so as to give rise to different figures of speech. The editor actually quotes the two parallel passages from the *Saṅjīvanī* and the *Citrāmīmāṃsā* (Int. p. 58-59). This section results in a comparison, here and there, of the *Saṅjīvanī* with the *Vimarśinī* of Jayaratha and the commentary of Samudrabandha. The part which *Vidyācakravartin* played in the history of the concept of *Parīṇāmāṅkāra* is discussed and explained in some detail by Ku. S. S. Janaki. Ruyyaka was the first *ālaṅkārika* to recognise *Parīṇāma* as a distinct figure of speech. There has been some confusion regarding this figure and *Vidyācakravartin* has formulated certain principles for distinguishing it from *Rūpaka* and they are clearly stated, in the Introduction p. 87. In trying to determine the exact contribution,

however small, which Vidyācakravartin may have made to the elucidation of the distinctness of a particular *alaṅkāra*, the editor had sometimes to trace the history of that *alaṅkāra* from Udbhaṭa downwards. She has done this task with a true historical sense. Needless to say that in trying to assess the commentator's contribution, she has necessarily assessed the contribution of Ruyyaka also. This is very evident in her study of 'ullekha', recognised as a distinct figure of speech for the first time by Ruyyaka. Where the Sañjivani is superior to the Vimarśini in explaining the Sarvasva has also been pointed out, as, for example, on p. 120 of the Introduction in regard to śleṣa.

On the whole, the edition is a valuable addition to the literature on *alaṅkāra*. The printing, the binding and the paper are all of good quality. I have no doubt that this volume will be much utilised by students and teachers in the Sanskrit Departments of the Universities and in the Sanskrit colleges.

भाषा और भाषिकी डा० देवी शङ्कर द्विवेदीकृत भाषा-शास्त्र की पुस्तक । प्रकाशक—
लक्ष्मी नारायण अग्रवाल, आगरा । प्रथम संस्करण, १९६४ ई० । मूल्य ५ रुपया ।

समीक्षक डा० उदयनारायण तिवारी प्रोफेसर, तथा अध्यक्ष, हिन्दी विभाग, जबलपुर विश्वविद्यालय, जबलपुर ।

हिन्दी में भाषा शास्त्र के सिद्धान्तों का परिचय प्राप्त करा सकने वाली पुस्तकें बहुत कम उपलब्ध हैं । विद्यार्थियों को अंग्रेजी पुस्तकों के माध्यम से ही ज्ञानोपलब्धि करनी पड़ती है । डा० द्विवेदी ने अपनी इस पुस्तक में भाषा-शास्त्र के सामान्य सिद्धान्तों का प्रतिपादन अत्यन्त सङ्क्षेप में किया है । इस प्रकार की पुस्तकें विद्यार्थियों को विषय-प्रवेश के द्वार तक ले जाने में समर्थ होती हैं । इस पुस्तक का भी यही महत्व है तथा यही इसकी सीमा है । भाषा की परिभाषा, उसका स्वरूप, उसकी उपव्यवस्थायें, भाषा-शास्त्र तथा उसके विविध रूप, भाषा शास्त्र की शाखाएं, भाषा-शास्त्र का अन्य विषयों से सम्बन्ध आदि का विवेचन अत्यन्त सारगर्भित रूप में किया गया है ।

“भाषा की उपव्यवस्थाएं” शीर्षक के अन्तर्गत लेखक ने ध्वनि, रूप, वाक्य, अर्थ आदि भाषिक तत्वों का अध्ययन करने वाली शाखाओं के सम्बन्ध में विचार किया है ।

स्वानिकी (ध्वनि विज्ञान) के अन्तर्गत लेखक ने वाग्यन्त्र, स्वर एवं व्यञ्जन तथा ध्वनि-गुण (मात्रा, बल, सुर एवं अनुतान) आदि का विवेचन किया है। स्वानिकी (ध्वनिग्राम शास्त्र) के अन्तर्गत वण्टन (वितरण) को हिन्दी के उदाहरणों सहित समझाया गया है। 'मर्प विज्ञान' (पदग्राम शास्त्र) प्रकरण में लेखक ने मर्प (मॉर्फ) एवं मर्पिम (मॉर्फिम) के स्वरूप की स्पष्ट एवं सङ्गत व्याख्या की है। वाक्य-विज्ञान पर भी इस पुस्तक में विचार किया गया है। सम्भवतः हिन्दी में यह पहली पुस्तक है, जिसमें वाक्यों के सम्बन्ध में विवेचन किया गया है। लेखक ने ५-६ वाक्यों के समीपी सङ्घटकों का विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत किया है। आज यह पद्धति काफी पुरानी पड़ गई है तथा वाक्य-विश्लेषण की नई-नई पद्धतियाँ हो गई हैं। उनमें प्रसिद्ध हैं—(१) स्ट्रिङ्ग एनेलेसिस (२) ट्रांसफॉर्मेशनल एनेलेसिस एवं (३) टैगमैमिक एनेलेसिस। यदि इस पुस्तक में उनका भी विवेचन किया जाता, तो पुस्तक का महत्व बढ़ जाता।

'भाषा एक वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि' शीर्षक पांचवे अध्याय के अन्तर्गत लेखक ने भाषा की गठन, भाषा और लिपि तथा भाषा, उपभाषा, बोली अनुली के सम्बन्ध में अध्ययन प्रस्तुत किया है। भाषा, उपभाषा एवं बोली आदि का अन्तर लेखक ने निम्नान्त रूप से प्रतिपादित किया है। उपर्युक्त विवेचन भाषा के स्वरूप को समझने में निश्चित रूप से सहायक सिद्ध होगा।

लेखक ने भाषिकी खण्ड (छठे से नवें अध्याय) में भाषा की वैज्ञानिकता, भाषिकी का उपयोग, भाषिकी की शाखाएँ तथा भाषिकी का अन्य विषयों से सम्बन्ध आदि का संक्षिप्त किन्तु तथ्यपूर्ण विवेचन किया है। आठवें अध्याय में ग्लासिकी (ग्लासमैटिक) स्कूल को स्वानिकी का एक प्रकार रूप बतलाया है। इस सम्बन्ध में यह उल्लेखनीय है कि भाषा-शास्त्र के विविध स्कूलों यथा—(१) प्राग् स्कूल (२) कोपेनहेगन स्कूल (३) येल स्कूल (४) अमेरिकन स्कूल—के सन्दर्भ में यदि डैनिश ग्लासमैटिक स्कूल का प्रतिपादन किया गया होता तो विवेच्य विषय के साथ न्याय हो सकता था।

भाषा शास्त्र विषय आज तीव्र गति से आगे बढ़ रहा है तथा विदेशों में इस विषय में नित्य नूतन अनुसन्धान हो रहे हैं। हिन्दी में भाषा-शास्त्र की पुस्तकों का अभाव चिन्त्य है। इस दृष्टि से डा० द्विवेदी का यह प्रयास सराहनीय है। मैं इस पुस्तक का स्वागत करता हूँ।

WOMEN IN SANSKRIT DRAMAS. by Ratnamayi Devi Dikshit, M. A., Ph. D., Lecturer, Miranda House, University of Delhi, with a foreword by Dr. N. N. Chaudhuri, M. A., D. Litt., Professor and Head of the Sanskrit Deptt., University of Delhi. Mehar Chand Lachman Das, Prop., The Sanskrit Book Depot., 2736 Kucha Chailan, Daryaganj, Delhi-6, India. Rs. 50.00.

Reviewed by Chintaharan Chakravarti. Retd. Professor Presidency College, Calcutta.

The book gives an analytical account of Sanskrit dramatic literature, period by period, with special reference to characters of women depicted therein. The account is prefixed by a hardly pertinent chapter on origin and development of Sanskrit drama and concluded by two similar chapters: one on "The Influence of Sanskrit Dramas over the women characters in the dramas of Modern Indian Languages", and the other on "March women through ages". The main topic is dealt with in six sections, e.g. Women in Pre-Kālidāsa Plays, The Plays of Kālidāsa, Kālidāsa to Bhavabhūti, Women in the Plays written upto 1200 A.D., Women in the plays after the 12th century upto the 19th century, Women in the modern Sanskrit plays. The main thesis of the learned writer is the known fact that a decadence set in the literature of Sanskrit drama along with a deterioration of the position of women in society from after the time of Bhavabhūti. Conditions are supposed to have improved with the advent of the modern age. But it is hard to believe that there has been an improvement of the dramatic literature in Sanskrit with the improvement of position of women in society. The want of a detailed table of contents as also of a general index, especially an index of authors of dramatic works dealt with in the book is keenly felt.

INDIA OF DHARMA SŪTRAS by Dr. Veda Mitra, M. A., Ph. D., Vidyavachaspati, Foreword by Shri L. O. Joshi, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Education, New Delhi. Arya Book Depot., Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5 (India). Price : Rs. 25.00

Reviewed by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Retd. Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta.

The book, the original title of which appears to have been, as indicated in the Preface, "Study of Dharma Sūtras with special reference

to the Gautama Dharma Sūtra" consists of three parts. The first part deals with Gautama and different aspects of his Dharma Sūtra. The second and third parts are as good as independent treatises with the titles respectively "Education in Ancient India" and "Happy married life in Ancient India". Each part has a separate pagination and a separate Preface with almost identical contents. The second and third parts are complete with separate title pages, contents, indices, forewords and bibliographies, the last two being identical in both the parts. The list of abbreviations which occurs in Part I is not repeated in the other parts apparently through inadvertence. The learned author does not confine himself in his discussions in these parts to the Dharma Sātras alone but collects information from other branches of literature as well, though reference to the sources are not always given (e.g., special hostels of female students, p. 15, Part II; names of various categories of students and teachers, p. 15-17, Part II; names of courses of studies associated with each season, p. 17, Part II; number of *Vidyā-s*, p. 62, Part II; *Atithiyaṇa*, p. 120-21, Part III). The learned author admits in the Preface with courtesy the "significant contributions" made on the subject by other scholars. It would have been helpful to the readers if he had drawn attention to the new light thrown by him. The title 'Happy married life in Ancient India' of Part III, though attractive, does not appear to be quite proper as it deals incidentally with topics like *Varṇāśrama* system, origin and growth of caste-system. The presentation is occasionally desultory. There are repetitions here and there (p. 75, 79, Part 2, punishment of a pupil for adultery). The Section on the *Brāhmaṇa* and a *Sūdra* wife at the end of Chapter II or Part III appears to be out of place. The topic is discussed in Chapter IV (p. 140) in connection with inter-caste marriage.

संस्कृत-शिक्षण की नवीन योजना । लेखक—डा० धर्मेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री; प्रकाशक—साहित्य भण्डार, मेरठ, मूल्य १५ रु० ।

समीक्षक डा० सत्वरयत शास्त्री, रीडर, संस्कृत विभाग, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय ।

संस्कृत व्याकरण सम्प्रदाय की एक सुप्रसिद्ध उक्ति है—“युगे युगे व्याकरणान्तराणि” । युग युग में भिन्न-भिन्न व्याकरण लिखे जाते रहे हैं । भले ही व्याकरण का मुख्य प्रयोजन—शब्दानुशासन—साधु शब्दों का उपदेश, शब्दों का व्याख्यान अथवा विश्लेषण (व्याक्रियन्ते

शब्दा अनेन इति व्याकरणम्) सभी में ही एक-सा ही हो पर-प्रतिपादन शैली में उन सभी में भेद रहा है। प्रत्येक युग की अपनी अलग-अलग आवश्यकताएं रही हैं, उन आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति का प्रयास शताब्दियों से चला आ रहा है। वर्तमान युग की भी अपनी कुछ आवश्यकताएं थीं, इनकी पूर्ति भी आवश्यक थी। वही पूर्ति डा० धर्मेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री के संस्कृत-शिक्षण की नवीन योजना नामक ग्रन्थ ने की है। पाणिनीय व्याकरण को नये ढङ्ग से ढालने का उनका यह अपूर्व प्रयास है। इस प्रयास से संस्कृत व्याकरण की क्लिष्टता बहुत सीमा तक कम हो गई है। लेखक ने वैज्ञानिक ढङ्ग से संस्कृत व्याकरण को प्रस्तुत किया है। संस्कृत व्याकरण का वैज्ञानिक ज्ञान क्या है इस विषय में लेखक का दृष्टिकोण सुतरां स्पष्ट है। उनके मत में 'अनेक समान शब्दों से तुलनापूर्वक किसी शब्द के प्रकार अर्थात् वर्गीकरण 'सम्बन्धी व्याकरण के समझने से ही उस शब्द का वास्तविक ज्ञान प्राप्त होता है' और इसे ही व्याकरण सम्बन्धी वैज्ञानिक ज्ञान कहा जा सकता है'। लेखक ने इसी माध्यम से विद्यार्थियों को संस्कृत व्याकरण का बोध कराने का प्रयास किया है। संस्कृत व्याकरण का विस्तृत मानचित्र, जिसमें संस्कृत के सभी शब्दों के विभिन्न प्रकार एक ही दृष्टि में आ सकें, इस पुस्तक के प्रथम भाग के अन्त में दिया गया है। बीच-बीच में छोटे-छोटे मानचित्र भी दिये गये हैं जिनके द्वारा संस्कृत शब्दों का सामान्य विभाग तथा शब्दों के मुख्य-मुख्य प्रकारों के उपविभाग समझ में आ सकें।

लेखक ने पाणिनिसूत्रों का बहिष्कार नहीं किया, उनका यत्र तत्र उल्लेख किया है पर फिर भी ग्रन्थ पाणिनि की अष्टाध्यायी का प्रतिबिम्ब मात्र होकर नहीं रह गया है और यह सूत्रार्थों को इधर उधर बिखरे रूप में डाल देने एवं सूत्रों का अनुल्लेख होने के कारण तथाकथित आधुनिकता का उत्तरीय पहिने हुए है। इसमें पाणिनीय व्याकरण को नये परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखने का अभूतपूर्व प्रयास है और यही है ग्रन्थ की मौलिकता। वस्तुतः पाणिनीय व्याकरण को नये सिरे से देखने की लेखक की इच्छा अनेक वर्षों से रही है।^१ प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ में वह इच्छा साकार हो उठी है। आचार्य पाणिनि भाषाशास्त्री भी थे यह आज के डिस्ट्रिक्टिव लिंग्विस्टिक्स के विद्वान भी मानने लगे हैं। उनके यहां भी नये सिरे से पाणिनि व्याकरण के मूल्याङ्कन का प्रयास चल रहा है।^२ भाषाशास्त्र की नवीनतम उपलब्धियों के सन्दर्भ में पाणिनि व्याकरण का मूल्याङ्कन वास्तव में इस युग की महती देन होगी। इससे नवीन तथ्य प्रकाश में आयेंगे और भाष्यकार के वचन—“अहो महती खलु सूक्ष्मेक्षिका सूत्रकारस्य” की सत्यता प्रमाणित हो जायगी। प्रस्तुत पुस्तक में भी यत्र तत्र भाषाशास्त्र के परिप्रेक्ष्य में व्याकरण के नियमों को समझाने का प्रयास किया गया है। सन्धि को ही लीजिये। यहां घोष अधोष की पद्धति से सन्धि के कतिपय नियम समझाये गये हैं। यथा—प्रस्तुत पुस्तक में कहा गया है कि घोष या अधोष वर्ण आगे आने वाले घोष या अधोष के अनुसार बदल जाते हैं, अर्थात् यदि आगे घोष हो तो पहिला भी घोष हो जाएगा और अधोष हो तो अधोष हो जाएगा। इस नियम या इस जैसे नियमों को पढ़ने के बाद 'यदि पाणिनि सूत्र झलां जशोऽन्ते' (८-२-३६) आदि पढ़े जायें तो पाणिनि के मस्तिष्क की

वैज्ञानिक प्रक्रिया ठीक से समझ में आ सकेगी। किञ्च व्यञ्जन सन्धि और विसर्ग सन्धि इन नियमों से व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से बहुत सरल भी हो जायगी। वस्तुतः लेखक की व्यावहारिक दृष्टि समूचे ग्रन्थ में रही है। उसने इस विषय में विशेष प्रयत्न किया है कि विद्यार्थियों को विशेषकर सुबन्त और तिङन्त प्रकरणों में उतनी ही सामग्री दी जाय जितनी कि उनके लिये उपयोगी हो। तिङन्त रूपों की अपेक्षा कृदन्त रूपों के प्रयोग में क्रमशः वृद्धि होने के कारण क्त, क्तवन्तु, शतृ, शानच् आदि कृदन्त रूपों को इसमें विस्तार से समझाया गया है। मुख्य-मुख्य कृदन्त रूपों की एक तालिका परिशिष्ट के रूप में भी दी गई है। सुबन्त और तिङन्तों की डरावनी, शुष्क, लम्बी रूपावली के बदले उन विषयों को विशेष स्थान दिया गया है जिनका व्यावहारिक प्रयोजन है। तिङन्त रूपों के विषय में पाणिनि के सूत्रों के आधार पर उनकी बनावट को स्पष्ट करने वाले कतिपय तिङन्त नियम बनाये नये हैं। साथ ही सुबन्त रूपों का एक दूसरे से भेद करने के लिये कुछ विशेष सङ्केत दिये गये हैं।

स्पष्टता प्रस्तुत पुस्तक का विशेष गुण है। लेखक का इस ओर पर्याप्त आग्रह रहा है। किञ्च अपने ग्रन्थ में अनेक प्रचलित भ्रान्तियों का भी उसने निराकरण किया है। उदाहरण के रूप में, षष्ठी विभक्ति को आप्टे और काले जैसे लब्धप्रतिष्ठ अर्वाचीन वैयाकरणों ने कारक विभक्ति नहीं माना है। लेखक ने अपने ग्रन्थ में सुस्पष्ट कर दिया है कि यद्यपि सम्बन्ध कारक नहीं है तो भी सम्बन्ध को द्योतित करने वाली षष्ठी कारक विभक्ति हो सकती है। जब वह कर्ता और कर्म को प्रकट करती है ('देवदत्तस्य पठनम्' आदि वाक्यों में कर्ता को और 'पुस्तकस्य पठनम्' आदि वाक्यों में कर्म को) तो वह कारक विभक्ति ही होती है। इसी प्रकार द्विगु समास के विषय में व्यापक रूप से फैली हुई इस भ्रान्ति को कि यह वह समास है जिसका पूर्वपद संख्यावाची होता है प्रस्तुत पुस्तक में दूर किया गया है। यदि संख्यावाची शब्द पूर्वपद में होने मात्र से द्विगु समास होता तो 'सप्तर्षयः' को भी द्विगु समास होना चाहिये था।

प्रस्तुत पुस्तक में सर्वनाम और संख्याओं के प्रयोग के सूक्ष्म भेद को भी समझाया गया है। किञ्च वाक्यनिरपेक्ष षष्ठी और सप्तमी के प्रयोग को भी इसमें संक्षेप से बताया गया है। एवमेव पाणिनि व्याकरण के पारिभाषिक शब्दों को भी इसमें एक परिशिष्ट में विस्तार से स्पष्ट किया गया है। एक अन्य परिशिष्ट में वर्णविन्यास (spelling) की अशुद्धता की ओर विशेष रूप से ध्यान आकर्षित किया गया है, जो कि संस्कृत के शुद्ध लेखन की दृष्टि से अतीव उपयोगी है। ग्रन्थान्त में अनुक्रमणिका भी दी गई है जो व्याकरण ग्रन्थों में प्रायः नहीं पाई जाती पर जिसकी उपयोगिता से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता।

ग्रन्थ में प्रत्येक विषय के बाद अभ्यास भी दिये गये हैं जो अतीव उपयोगी हैं। इन अभ्यासों के बाद तत्तद्विषय से सम्बद्ध सूक्तिसङ्ग्रह दिया गया है जिसने ग्रन्थ में चार चाँद

लगा दिये हैं। इन हृदयस्पर्शी सूक्तियों के कारण व्याकरण जैसा रुख समझा जानेवाला विषय भी मनोहर लगने लगा है।

डा० धर्मेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री ने संस्कृत-शिक्षण की नवीन योजना नामक ग्रन्थरत्न की सृष्टि कर संस्कृत जगत् की महती सेवा की है। इस ग्रन्थरत्न से संस्कृत व्याकरण का ही नहीं समस्त संस्कृत रचना का सरलतया बोध हो जाता है। व्याकरण के विषय में काशिकाकार जैसे महावैयाकरण ने लिखा था — 'कण्ट' व्याकरणम्' (कृच्छ्रगहनयोः कषः ७-२-२२ सूत्र के अन्तर्गत) इस ग्रन्थ से अब व्याकरण 'कण्ट' (=कण्टकर) नहीं रहा। यही शास्त्री जी की 'नवीन योजना' है जिसके लिए संस्कृत जगत् चिरकाल तक उनका ऋणी रहेगा।

१ इस कथन के प्रमाण रूप से उपस्थित किया जा सकता है उनका श्री गोपीनाथ कविराज अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ में प्रकाशित A Reappraisal of Pāṇini शीर्षक लेख।

२ इस वर्ष दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय में भाषाशास्त्र के एम० ए० के पाठ्य क्रम में पाणिनि का समावेश करने की योजना है। इस योजना के अन्तर्गत शुद्ध भाषाशास्त्रीय दृष्टि से पाणिनि का अध्ययन किया जायगा।

CARE OF ARCHIVES, by K. P. Srivastava. Published by the Department of Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research, Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad, 1964. pp. 192; 9 plates. Price Rs. 9.

Reviewed by Dr. Sarva Daman Singh, Reader, Dept. of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University.

Perhaps the first work of its kind to be published in India, this practical hand book on the care of archives embodies the sum of the author's study and experience in the field of archival management both in India and abroad. Divided into twelve chapters, it sets forth certain general principles which can be applied with apposite modifications to any office producing or housing records of public business. The first chapter deals with the origin and development of archives in India and abroad, distinguishes between historical manuscripts and archives, and recounts the functions and qualifications of the archivist. The second and third discuss the methods of record preservation, the transfer of records to the Central Archives and their packing, labelling, classification and arrangement in the strong rooms. Chapter IV speaks of the

reference and research aids, the importance of which cannot obviously be overemphasized. Preservation must always be related to the principle of easy accessibility. The preparation of guides, inventories, catalogues, calendars, transcripts and indices are described here in a manner at once instructive and helpful.

Chapters V and VI set forth the requirements of a modern archival building, the need for proper lighting control of relative humidity and temperature and protection against the risk of fire, water, theft, insects and atmospheric pollution. While chapter VII explains the need for the elimination of documents unworthy of permanent preservation, the following chapter contains information on production and exhibition of documents to the public, Chapter IX furnishes suggestions for the maintenance of private archives and the preparation of the National Register of archives. Chapters X and XI discuss the ravage caused by nature and man and describe the different methods of repair and restoration. The last chapter describes the various photographic processes pressed into the service of modern archives. The decipherment of faded and charred documents with the help of ultra-violet lamps has also been properly explained.

The book contains unambiguous instructions on almost every aspect of archive work, and will certainly prove most helpful to any newcomer to the profession. The subject is important; for it is only at our peril that we can ignore our archives. We will only diminish ourselves, if we forget our past.

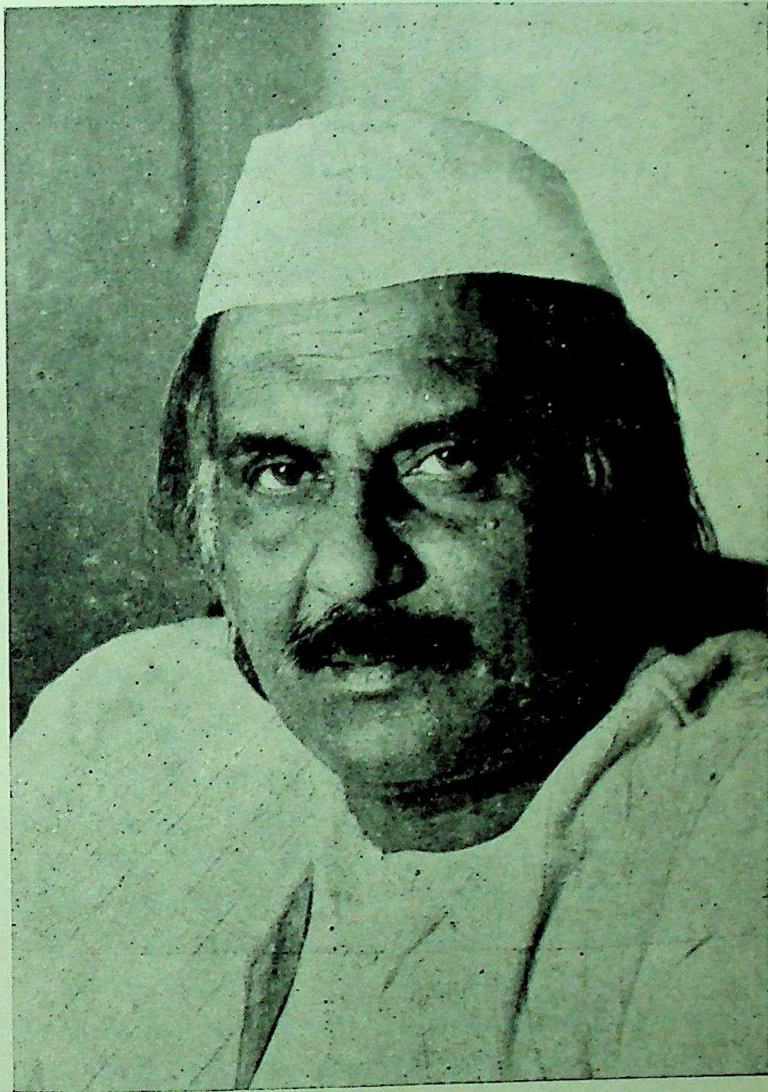
श्रद्धाञ्जलि

श्रद्धाञ्जलि—परिषद् की ओर से

१० जनवरी, १९६६। अभी भगवान् भास्कर अपने आधे मार्ग में भी नहीं पहुँचे थे कि आकाशवाणी से विषादपूर्ण शब्दों में सूचना प्रसारित हुई कि डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द जी की आत्मा अमर ज्योति में विलीन हो गयी है। क्षण भर के लिए मन ने इसे मानने से इन्कार कर दिया, किन्तु तुरन्त ही उसे अगाध दुःख और शोक में निमग्न हो जाना पड़ा। सारे देश में शोक की लहर दौड़ गयी और लखनऊ की नगरी तो उसके कारण नितान्त निष्प्रभ ही हो गयी; क्योंकि उनके राजस्थान जाने के पूर्व लगभग तीन दशकों तक यही तो उनकी कर्म-भूमि रही थी। लखनऊ में स्थित अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद् के ऊपर तो सहसा वज्रपात ही हो गया।

आज से लगभग १८ वर्ष पूर्व डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द जी की ही प्रेरणा से इस परिषद् की स्थापना हुई थी। वे उसी समय से परिषद् की प्रगति के प्रति निरन्तर सजग और सचेष्ट रहा करते थे। वह उनके लिए पुत्री के समान थी, जिसके पालन-पोषण का ही नहीं सतत मार्गदर्शन द्वारा चरित्र-निर्माण का भी उत्तरदायित्व वे भली भाँति समझते थे। उन्हीं के प्रोत्साहन और साहाय्य के परिणामस्वरूप नवाबों की इस नगरी में संस्कृत तथा भारतीय विद्या के एक श्रेष्ठ पुस्तकालय की स्थापना करने में परिषद् को सफलता प्राप्त हो सकी। परिषद् के इतिहास में वह दिवस सदैव स्मरणीय रहेगा जब ज्योतिर्मय ने ज्योति से ज्योति जलाकर इस पुस्तकालय का उद्घाटन किया था। वेदध्वनि तथा शङ्खनाद के बीच परिषद्-पुस्तकालय के उद्घाटन से बाबू जी को प्राप्त होनेवाला आत्मतोष उनके तेजोमय मुखमण्डल पर छाये हुए गाम्भीर्य तथा नयनों में से झाँकते हुए उल्लास से ही स्पष्ट था। और उनका यह आत्मतोष उस समय और बढ़ गया जब उद्घाटन के तुरन्त बाद उन्होंने पुस्तकालय के तत्कालीन ग्रन्थसङ्ग्रह का बड़े मनोयोगपूर्वक निरीक्षण किया। उन्हें उक्त सङ्ग्रह को देखकर कितनी प्रसन्नता हुई थी यह उनके द्वारा उस अवसर पर निरीक्षण-पञ्जी में निविष्ट निम्नलिखित वाक्यों से ही स्पष्ट है :—

“इस पुस्तकालय के उद्घाटन का मुझे अवसर मिला, यह मेरे लिए सौभाग्य की बात है। विश्वविद्यालय के अतिरिक्त लखनऊ में संस्कृत का ऐसा पुस्तकालय मिल सकेगा इसपर विश्वास नहीं होता। इस संस्था के द्वारा परिषद् संस्कृत प्रेमियों की बहुत बड़ी सेवा कर सकेगी।”



डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द



परिषद् द्वारा ही आयोजित एक समारोह के अवसर पर उन्होंने धुब्ध होकर कहा था कि आज हम रामायण और गीता तक ही सीमित रह गये हैं और अनादि काल से प्राप्त अपनी थाती को हमने विस्मृत ही कर दिया है। उनका सङ्केत था वेद-विद्या की ओर। वे वेदों के संरक्षण तथा उनके पठन-पाठन के लिए सतत प्रयत्नशील रहा करते थे। इसी उद्देश्य से उन्होंने परिषद् को एक सामवेद विद्यालय की स्थापना और सञ्चालन का सुझाव दिया था, जो उन्हीं की आर्थिक तथा अन्य प्रकार की सहायता के फलस्वरूप स्थापित भी किया गया था। वेदव्रती डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द ने ही उसका उद्घाटन भी किया था और उन्हीं की सहायता से वह तब तक चलता भी रहा जब तक वह उत्तर प्रदेश से चले नहीं गये।

परिषद् की इतनी उन्नति उन्हीं के कारण हो सकी। जब तक वे इस प्रदेश के मुख्य मन्त्री रहै तब तक परिषद् को किसी प्रकार की आर्थिक कठिनाई का सामना नहीं करना पड़ा और उसके कार्यसञ्चालन के विषय में बराबर परामर्श भी मिलता रहा। उत्तर प्रदेश से राजस्थान के राज्यपाल होकर जयपुर चले जाने के बाद भी परिषद् की चिन्ता उन्हें बराबर बनी ही रहती थी और जब कभी परिषद् पर कोई सङ्कट आया तब उन्होंने उसे उससे उबारने का भरसक प्रयत्न किया। परिषद् के प्रति उनकी सेवाएं अविस्मरणीय हैं।

बाबू जी का जीवन एक कर्मयोगी का जीवन था। वे जनक आदि की कोटि के जीवनमुक्त थे, जो भोगी होते हुए भी योगी थे, संसारसागर में आमूलचूल डूबे होते हुए भी “पद्मपत्रमिव” उससे निर्लिप्त थे। उन्होंने दीर्घ जीवन पाया, स्वयं तो जीवित रहे ही, दूसरों को भी जीवित रहने का ढङ्ग सिखाया। रोगग्रस्त रहते हुए भी उसका अनुभव नहीं किया और काल के समक्ष भी मुस्कराते रहे।

वेदों के अनन्य उपासक और व्याख्याता, महान् ज्योतिर्विद, दार्शनिक तथा भारतीय संस्कृति के अनुयायी, उसके पोषक और उन्नायक के रूप में बाबू जी सदैव अमर रहेंगे। वे भारतीय आस्तिक दर्शन के पुजारी थे, जिसके अनुसार आत्मा अजर और अमर है; नाशवान् है तो केवल यह शरीर। बाबू जी की काया हमारे सामने नहीं है। यह परिषद् उनके पदार्पण से फिर कभी पुनीत नहीं हो सकेगी; किन्तु उनका एक एक शब्द इस परिषद् को निरन्तर प्रेरणा और प्रोत्साहन प्रदान करता रहेगा। बाबू जी युग-पुरुष थे। युगपुरुष का कभी नाश नहीं होता। आज जब यह परिषद् बाबू जी के स्वप्नों को साकार करती हुई इस शोध-पत्रिका का प्रकाशन कर रही है और जब हम उसका प्रथम अङ्क निकाल रहे हैं तब हमें पुनः उनका स्मरण हो रहा है। काश, इसका आविष्करण उनके ही हाथों होता, किन्तु नियति के प्रति कब किसका वश चला है? इस अङ्क के माध्यम से हम अपने पूज्य बाबू जी को अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित करते हैं; उनके चरणों में अपनी श्रद्धा के सुमन चढ़ा रहे हैं।

डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द जी का संस्कृत प्रेम

लोग डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द जी की बहुमुखी राष्ट्रसेवा के विभिन्न अङ्गों का विस्तार से उल्लेख और वर्णन सदा ही करते रहेंगे; किन्तु संस्कृत भाषा और विद्या के संरक्षण के लिए उन्होंने अपने जीवन के अन्तिम क्षण तक जो कुछ किया है उसका कृतज्ञतापूर्वक स्मरण करना हमारा पुनीत कर्त्तव्य है।

राजस्थान के राज्यपाल के पद पर रहते हुए ही सम्पूर्णानन्द जी अस्वस्थ होगये थे; किन्तु उनकी यह अस्वस्थता उनकी वेद-सेवा की अदम्य आकांक्षा को ज़रा भी कम नहीं कर सकी थी। उनकी अन्तिम पुस्तक “वेदार्थप्रवेशिका”, जो उनके देहावसान के १०-१२ दिन पूर्व प्रकाशित हुई थी, इस बात का ज्वलन्त प्रमाण है। उनकी सतत इच्छा वेदों के अध्ययन की ओर भारतीयों की प्रवृत्ति बढ़ाने की ओर रही। इसी उद्देश्य से उन्होंने अपनी अन्तिम रूग्णावस्था में उक्त पुस्तक की रचना करके इस संसार को छोड़ने के पूर्व उसे समाप्त भी कर दिया। वे चाहते थे कि इस पुस्तक का कलेवर काफी बड़ा हो जिसमें उसके द्वारा वेदों की अनन्त विशेषताओं की ओर पाठकों की अभिरुचि जागृत की जा सके; किन्तु दिनानुदिन शारीरिक क्षीणता की वृद्धि होते जाने से “वेदार्थप्रवेशिका” को आप लघु पुस्तिका का ही रूप दे पाये।

त्रिभाषा-सूत्र के नाम पर संस्कृत के पठन-पाठन की हानि देखकर आप बहुत ही दुःखी रहा करते थे और इस दुःख को अपने अनेक व्याख्यानों, लेखों और विचार-विनिमय के अवसरों पर व्यक्त भी करते रहते थे। जिन दिनों स्वर्गीय श्री लालबहादुर जी प्रधानमंत्री थे, दिल्लीस्थ अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत साहित्य सम्मेलन ने अपने एक प्रकाशन का सम्पूर्णानन्द जी के कर कमलों द्वारा विमोचन कराया था। समारोह शास्त्री जी के निवासस्थान पर ही हुआ था और उसमें वे स्वयं उपस्थित भी थे। डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द जी ने समारोह में जाने के पूर्व अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद् लखनऊ के मंत्री, श्री गोपालचन्द्र जी से, जो उन दिनों दिल्ली में ही रह रहे थे और उनसे मिलने गये हुए थे, निःसङ्कोच कहा था कि मैं प्रधानमंत्री से संस्कृत के लिए भीख मांगूंगा। और समारोह में पहुँचकर जब बोलने का अवसर आया तब उन्होंने कहा—“प्रधान मंत्री लाल बहादुर जी मेरे शिष्य रहे हैं। मुझे उनसे गुरुदक्षिणा मांगने का अधिकार है। आज मैं वह दक्षिणा भिक्षा के रूप में मांग रहा हूँ। मैं उनसे आग्रह करता हूँ कि संस्कृत की रक्षा करें और इस प्रकार अपने शिष्योचित कर्त्तव्य का पालन और गुरु के प्रति ऋण की आपूर्ति करें। मैं उनसे इसकी भिक्षा मांगता हूँ। त्रिभाषा-सूत्र का तात्पर्य यही है कि भारत का विद्यार्थी, वह किसी भी प्रदेश का रहनेवाला क्यों न हो, अपनी मातृभाषा, अखिल भारतीय राजभाषा हिन्दी और एक और किसी भाषा का अध्ययन करे। किन्तु दुर्भाग्य की बात यह है कि इस तीसरी भाषा के स्थान पर अंग्रेजी की अनिवार्य गिनती की जाती है। अंग्रेजी को अनिवार्य रूप से बनाये रखने का यह देश में स्थायी कुचक्र है। मैं समझता हूँ कि मातृभाषा, राजभाषा हिन्दी और संस्कृत का अध्ययन करने की

स्वतन्त्रता सबको मिलनी चाहिये। यदि ऐसा नहीं किया जाता तो यह न केवल संस्कृत भाषा के प्रति, बल्कि राष्ट्र के हित के प्रति भी, अन्याय होगा। संस्कृत के अध्ययन और अध्यापन की प्रवृत्ति यदि समाप्त कर दी जायगी तो इस देश का भविष्य अन्धकारमय हो जायगा क्योंकि अपनी प्राचीन थाती और सम्पदा से हम बिल्कुल हाथ धो बैठेंगे।”

दक्षिण भारत के लोग अंग्रेजी के ज्ञान के बिना अखिल भारतीय सेवाओं की परीक्षाओं में कठिनाई का अनुभव करते थे। अतः वे मातृभाषा और हिन्दी के अतिरिक्त तीसरी भाषा के रूप में संस्कृत नहीं, अंग्रेजी ही पढ़ने के पक्ष में थे। जिन दिनों उत्तर भारत में संस्कृत को दबा दिया गया था उन दिनों दक्षिण भारत ने ही संस्कृत और शुद्ध भारतीय संस्कृति की ज्योति जला रखी थी; किन्तु उसी दक्षिण का इधर आकर यह हाल हुआ कि अंग्रेजी का प्रचलन बढ़ जाने के कारण संस्कृत पूजा-पाठ और धार्मिक संस्कार मात्र की भाषा रह गयी। सन् १९५४ की बात है। डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द जी को भारतीय बौद्धिक सम्मेलन का सभापतित्व करने मद्रास नगर जाना पड़ा। उस समय तक देश भर में यह ख्याति हो चुकी थी कि सम्पूर्णानन्द जी के कारण उत्तर प्रदेश में संस्कृत का मान बहुत बढ़ रहा है। अतः मद्रास के संस्कृत-प्रेमी सज्जनों ने अपनी संस्था में सम्पूर्णानन्द जी को आमन्त्रित करके उनका अभिनन्दन किया और उत्तर प्रदेश में उस समय तक संस्कृत के लिए जो कुछ किया जा चुका था उसे जान लेने के पश्चात् यह निःसंकोच रूप से स्वीकार किया कि उत्तर प्रदेश की तुलना में मद्रास राज्य में संस्कृत शिक्षा के प्रकार और संवर्द्धन के लिए बहुत कम किया जा सका है।

स्कूलों में पहले संस्कृत और हिन्दी आदि भाषाओं के अध्यापकों का वेतनमान अन्य अध्यापकों की अपेक्षा बहुत कम था और उनका कोई सम्मान भी नहीं था। यह डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द जी ही थे जो सन् १९३७-४१ के अपने शिक्षा निवृत्ति-काल में इस विषयता को दूर कर सके।

पहले संस्कृत के अध्यापक ही नहीं संस्कृत के विद्यार्थी भी बहुत नीची दृष्टि से देखे जाते थे। इसी बात को लेकर सन् १९३८ में कशी संस्कृत छात्र-परिषद् के समारोह में भाषण करते हुए उन्होंने कहा था—“मुझे यह सहन नहीं है कि संस्कृत के विद्यार्थी को लोग हेय दृष्टि से देखें। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि संस्कृत भाषा को वह स्थान प्राप्त हो जिसकी वह नैसर्गिक रूप से अधिकारिणी है। संस्कृत भाषा से इस देश का गौरव बढ़ा है। उसके ज्ञान-भण्डार से समस्त संसार ने लाभ उठाया है। वेद में किस यूरोपीय विद्वान् को क्या नहीं मिला? अनेक आधुनिक यूरोपीय विचारक, और बौद्धिक विद्वान् संस्कृत भाषा के प्रति ऋणी हैं। किन्तु भारत में दशा क्या है? चार अक्षर गलत और भ्रष्ट अंग्रेजी जाननेवाला सम्मानित किया जाता है; उसे ऊँचे से ऊँचे पद दिये जाते हैं। और उसी स्थान पर संस्कृत के छात्रों और विद्वानों के हाथ लगती है केवल उपेक्षा। यह कुप्रथा है, कुसंस्कार है, एक प्रकार का देशद्रोह है और इसलिए अपराध है।” उसी भाषण में सम्पूर्णानन्द जी ने यह

भी कहा था कि इसके लिए संस्कृत के छात्रों और अध्यापकों को स्वयं कमर कसनी पड़ेगी। उन्हें कूपमण्डूकता छोड़नी होगी। आत्मतोष की भावना से भी उन्हें छुटकारा पाना होगा। उन्हें संस्कृत के साथ-साथ अन्य आधुनिक भाषाओं का भी नहीं आधुनिक विषयों का भी अध्ययन करना होगा और आधुनिकतम ज्ञान-विज्ञान का भी उपार्जन करना होगा। उन्हें अग्रिम पंक्ति में आना होगा और दुनिया को दिखला देना होगा कि संस्कृत का अध्येता पुरातनपन्थी नहीं है।”

उनके मन में उपर्युक्त विचार उग्र रूप से तब भी विद्यमान थे जब उन्होंने उनसे ही प्रेरित होकर वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना की। इस विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना के लिए उन्हें मंत्रिमण्डल के अन्दर कितना विरोध सहना पड़ा और केन्द्रीय नत्रिन्यों का कितना कोपभाजन बनना पड़ा यह वे ही जानते थे। विश्वविद्यालय के स्थापित हो जाने के अनन्तर उन्होंने इस दृष्टि से कि उसे समुचित गौरव मिल सके और उसके प्राशासनिक ढांचे की नींव भी मजबूत ही पड़े उसका प्रथम उपकुलपति नियुक्त किया उत्तर प्रदेश के तत्कालीन मुख्य सचिव श्री आदित्यनाथ झा को। श्री झा के समान योग्य प्रशासक और संस्कृत प्रेमी कम ही मिलेंगे। उन्होंने सम्पूर्णानन्द जी की अन्तर्भूत भावना को भली-भाँति समझकर और उसका पूर्ण समादर करते हुए ही अपने पुनीत कर्तव्य का निर्वाह किया जो उनकी कौटुम्बिक परम्परा के भी अनुरूप था।

डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द जी का संस्कृत-प्रेम और वेद-निष्ठा पर-उपदेश तक ही नहीं सीमित थे। वे स्वयं संस्कृत के अच्छे विद्वान् और वेदों के ज्ञाता थे। उनकी प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा अंग्रेजी स्कूल में ही हुई थी। डिगरी भी उनकी बी० एस-सी० की थी। इसलिए उन्हें स्कूल या कालेज में संस्कृत पढ़ने का अवसर नहीं मिला। संस्कृत का उन्होंने घर पर निजी तौर पर ही अध्ययन किया था। बाद में, कारावास-काल के एकान्त का लाभ उठा कर उन्होंने वेदाध्ययन किया। कुशाग्रबुद्धि और निष्ठावान् अध्येता होने के कारण वेदाध्ययन में उन्हें शायद ही कभी कोई कठिनाई हुई हो। उन्होंने संस्कृत और वेद में इतना ज्ञान प्राप्त कर लिया था कि अपनी पुत्री कुमारी शैलबाला को उसके विवाह के पूर्व बी० ए० तक संस्कृत का अध्ययन स्वयं कराया और तदनन्तर एक वर्ष से अधिक समय तक नित्यप्रति वेद की ऋचाएं भी पढ़ायीं। यह अध्यापन कार्य वास्तव में द्रष्टव्य होता था। यह अध्यापन कार्य रात्रि के भोजन के बाद भी आरम्भ होता था। एक ओर पिता अवलेटे बैठे रहते थे, दूसरी ओर वेद की पोथी लिए पुत्री। पुत्री पहले एक ऋचा पढ़ती थी, फिर पिता उसका अर्थ, भावार्थ, सन्दर्भ, अन्तर्कथा, गूढ़ दार्शनिक और वैज्ञानिक रहस्य आदि ऐसे बतलाते जाते थे मानो यह सब पहले से टेपरेकार्ड पर टेप कर लिया गया हो और उसे उक्त मशीन ही सुना रही हो।

सम्पूर्णानन्द जी वेदों को प्रशस्त करने का कोई अवसर कभी नहीं चूकते थे। एक बार वाराणसी के तुलसी-मानस-मन्दिर में भाषण करते हुए उन्होंने कहा था—“रामायण

और उसके रचयिता तुलसीदास का आदर करना तो उचित ही है; किन्तु मुझे ऐसे अवसरों पर यह देखकर कष्ट होता है कि लोग वेदों को क्यों भूल जाते हैं जो सभी विद्याओं, शास्त्रों और विज्ञानों का मूल स्रोत है।

बाबू जी ने अपने प्रशासकीय कार्यकाल में संस्कृत के पण्डितों का जो सम्मान किया वह किसी प्रशासकीय अधिकारी को करते नहीं देखा गया। उनके देहावसान से धर्म, संस्कृति, कला, प्राचीन विद्या और परम्परा का बहुत बड़ा रक्षक और पोषक उठ गया है।

विद्याभास्कर

डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द

हमारे देश में अनेक विद्वान् मनीषी जीवन के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में कार्य करते हुए देश और समाज की सेवा करते आ रहे हैं। डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द भी ऐसे ही महान् व्यक्तियों में से एक थे। उन्होंने राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में तो ख्याति प्राप्त की ही, एक कुशल तथा दूरदर्शी प्रशासक के रूप में भी अपनी विलक्षण प्रतिभा का परिचय दिया। उनके सम्बन्ध में यह एक महत्वपूर्ण बात है कि उन्होंने व्यस्त राजनीतिक जीवन में भी साहित्य-लेखन और अध्ययन में गहरी दिलचस्पी के साथ कार्य किया और अपनी साहित्य-सेवाओं से हिन्दी का भण्डार भरा।

एक अध्यापक के रूप में सम्पूर्णानन्द जी का प्रारम्भिक जीवन सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में महत्वपूर्ण रहा। भारतीय संस्कृति के अनुकूल गुरु की गरिमा के सभी लक्षण उनमें विद्यमान थे। यही कारण है कि अनुशासनबद्ध जीवन में और उच्चतम आदर्शों के अनुपालन में उनकी आस्था थी। देशभक्ति की भावना और समाजसेवा की लगन उनके मन में इसी समय से उत्पन्न हुई और देश को उनके रूप में एक प्रतिभाशाली राजनीतिक नेता मिला।

उनका संस्कृत का अध्ययन बड़ा गहन था। इसके साथ ही हिन्दी, उर्दू, अंग्रेजी पर भी उनका पूर्ण अधिकार था। इन भाषाओं में गम्भीर से गम्भीर विषय पर भी धारा-प्रवाह भाषण देना उनकी विशेषता थी। उन्होंने इन भाषाओं में ग्रन्थ लिखे। उन्हें मंगलाप्रसाद पारितोषिक भी उनके उत्कृष्ट ग्रन्थों पर प्राप्त हुआ। उन्होंने वेद-वेदांगों से लेकर इतिहास और राजनीति आदि विषयों का गम्भीर अध्ययन किया था। इतिहास,

राजनीति, पाश्चात्य-पौराणिक-दर्शन और विज्ञान, कोई भी ऐसा विषय नहीं है जिसमें सम्पूर्णानन्द जी ने उच्चकोटि का ग्रन्थ न लिखा हो। सम्पूर्णानन्द जी एक गहरे चिन्तक और लेखक के रूप में हमारे सामने आते हैं। दर्शन और अध्यात्मवाद जैसे गम्भीर विषयों के विवेचन से उनकी विद्वत्ता का परिचय मिलता है। हिन्दी साहित्य में उनकी कृतियों का ऊँचा स्थान तो है ही, साथ ही उन्होंने समाजशास्त्र, समाजवाद और गाँधीवाद का चिन्तन भी किया और अनेक उच्चकोटि के ग्रन्थ भी इन विषयों पर लिखे। उनकी लेखन शैली गम्भीर, विचारप्रधान और पाण्डित्यपूर्ण होते हुए भी सुगम है। इस प्रकार लेखक और विचारक के रूप में सम्पूर्णानन्द जी की प्रतिभा वास्तव में बहुमुखी थी। लगभग ३० वर्ष तक नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा और हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन से आपका घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध रहा। अनेक पत्रिकाओं का आपने सम्पादन किया। सरस्वती की इस उपासना ने आपको देश के गिने-चुने व्यक्तियों की कोटि में रखा। आपकी विद्वत्ता प्रगाढ़ थी और प्रतिभा सर्वतोमुखी। आपकी लेखनशैली में ओज तथा जीवन और विचारों में मौलिकता, विश्लेषण शक्ति तथा गाम्भीर्य था। आपकी गिनती भारत के उन सपूतों में थी जिनकी सेवाओं का लाभ समाज को केवल राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में ही नहीं बल्कि साहित्यिक क्षेत्र में भी मिला।

उत्तरप्रदेश के शिक्षा-मंत्री के रूप में आपने साहित्यकारों की प्रतिभा के विकास के लिए अनेक कार्यक्रम तैयार किए थे। इस तरह साहित्यसृजन में आपका योगदान अद्वितीय है। मुख्य मंत्री पद पर रहते हुए भी आपने लेखन कार्य नहीं छोड़ा इससे आपकी विलक्षण प्रतिभा, अद्वितीय कार्यक्षमता और साहित्य सेवा की सच्ची लगन का प्रमाण मिलता है।

डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द जी का राजनैतिक जीवन भी उच्चकोटि का था। अध्यापन कार्य छोड़ने के पश्चात् समाज सेवा की सच्ची लगन से आपने असहयोग आन्दोलन में सक्रिय रूप से भाग लिया और देश की सेवा और भक्ति के लिए आपको कारावास में भी रहना पड़ा। आपकी समाजवाद नामक पुस्तक की गणना उच्चकोटि के राजनीतिक ग्रन्थों में होती है। आपने शिक्षामन्त्री तथा मुख्यमन्त्री के रूप में पर्याप्त सफलता प्राप्त की थी। अद्वितीय सङ्गठन शक्ति और विकट समस्याओं का कुशलतापूर्वक हल निकालने की क्षमता आपका विशेष गुण था। राज्यपाल के उत्तरदायित्व पूर्ण पद को आपने जिस कर्तव्यनिष्ठा और योग्यता के साथ सुशोभित किया वह आपके अनुभव और प्रतिभा का परिचायक है।

डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द अपने आप में एक संस्था थे। मुझे उनके निकट सम्पर्क में रहने का अवसर मिला था। जब सम्पूर्णानन्द जी उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्यमन्त्री थे तो मैं वहाँ मुख्यसचिव के पद पर था। अतः अनेक बार मुझे उनके व्यक्तित्व का बहुत निकट से परिचय प्राप्त करने का अवसर मिला। अनेक राजनीतिक समस्याओं तथा प्रशासनिक गुत्थियों को सुलझाने की अद्वितीय क्षमता आप में विद्यमान रहती थी। अनुशासनप्रियता उवका विशेष

श्रद्धाञ्जलि

२०३

गुण था। सरकारी तथा सार्वजनिक जीवन में उनकी कार्य-क्षमता से हमें सदा ही प्रेरणा मिली है।

डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द का काशी विद्यापीठ से अनेक वर्षों तक सम्बन्ध रहा और उक्त विद्यापीठ की सेवा उनके सार्वजनिक जीवन का एक अङ्ग बन गई थी। वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय के उपकुलपति का कार्यभार सम्भालने की प्रेरणा भी मुझे डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द जी से ही मिली थी। उनके संस्कृत प्रेम से मैं बहुत प्रभावित हुआ हूँ। मुझे यह कहने में गौरव का अनुभव होता है कि राजनीतिक जीवन में मन्त्रिपद और राज्यपाल के पदों को सुशोभित करते हुए भी सम्पूर्णानन्द जी की लेखनी साहित्य निर्माण में सतत लीन रही है। उनके रूप में हमें एक गम्भीर दार्शनिक, तथा राजनीति, समाजशास्त्र, समाजवाद और गाँधीवाद का अद्वितीय लेखक और चिन्तक मिला था। राजनीतिक, सामाजिक और साहित्यिक क्षेत्रों में डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द जी ने देश की जो सेवा की है उसकी अमिट छाप भावी पीढ़ी का सतत मार्ग निर्देशन करती रहेगी।

आदित्य नाथ झा

भव्य या दिव्य जीवन

डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द जी के जीवन को एक ही शब्द में कहें तो 'भव्य' या 'दिव्य' कह सकते हैं। वे न केवल संस्कृत तथा विभिन्न विद्यायों के परम विद्वान् थे, बल्कि अच्छे चिन्तक और साधक भी थे। राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में उन्होंने अपनी निष्ठा का और प्रशासनिक क्षेत्र में चरित्रशीलता का अच्छा नमूना पेश किया।

हरिमाऊ उपाध्याय

Chapter I

THE HISTORY OF THE ARYA SAMAJ

1875-1900

The Arya Samaj was founded by Sri Chattampi Swamikal in 1875. It was a reform movement in Kerala, India, which aimed to revive the ancient Vedic religion and to reform the social customs of the Malayalam people. The movement was based on the principles of the Vedas and the Upanishads, and it sought to establish a new social order based on these principles. The Arya Samaj was founded in the town of Kottayam, and it spread rapidly throughout Kerala and other parts of India. It was a movement of the people, and it was supported by the masses. It was a movement of the future, and it was destined to become a powerful force in the history of India.

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THE ARYA SAMAJ

सूचनाएं INFORMATIONS

I

The 28th International Congress of Orientalists will be held at the Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T., from 6th to 12th January, 1971. All scholars of the language, history, literature and culture of Asia are welcome.

Enquiries should be addressed to :

The Secretary-General,
28 International Congress of Orientalists,
Australian National University Post Office,
via CANBERRA CITY. A.C.T. 2601. AUSTRALIA.

II

The 25th (Silver Jubilee) Session of the All-India Oriental Conference is going to be held at Calcutta, under the auspices of the Jadavpur University from the 29th to the 31st of October, 1969.

Enquiries may be made from :

Dr. Ramaranjan Mukherji,
(Local Secretary, 25th Session),
Professor and Head of the
Department of Sanskrit,
Calcutta-32 (West Bengal).

III

लखनऊ के श्री श्यामकृष्ण अग्रवाल की पत्नी श्रीमती लक्ष्मी अग्रवाल ने अपनी स्वर्गीया माता श्रीमती यशोदा देवी और स्वर्गीय पिता श्री रामगोपाल जी की स्मृति को चिरस्थायिनी बनाने के उद्देश्य से परिषद् के पास इस इच्छा के साथ एक निधि स्थापित की है कि उसकी सहायता से परिषद् "यशोदा देवी रामगोपाल ग्रन्थमाला" के नाम से एक ऐसी ग्रन्थमाला सञ्चालित करने का आयोजन करे, जिसमें संस्कृत के उच्च कोटि के ग्रन्थ, उनके अनुवाद तथा ऐसे ग्रन्थों पर आधारित या उनसे सम्बद्ध हिन्दी या संस्कृत के अन्य ग्रन्थों का प्रकाशन होता रहे। इस पुण्य कार्य के लिए परिषद् उनके प्रति अपना आभार प्रदर्शित करती है।

IV

कलकत्ते के स्वर्गीय पण्डित रमाशङ्कर शर्मा गुलेरी की पत्नी, श्रीमती चन्द्रकान्ता शर्मा गुलेरी जी ने अपने पति का सम्पूर्ण हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थसङ्ग्रह, जिसमें संस्कृत के ५०० से ऊपर हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ हैं, कृपापूर्वक परिषद् को प्रदान कर दिया है। परिषद् इसके लिए उनका आभारी है।

V

The Parishad has great pleasure in announcing the appointment of Prof. K.A.S. Iyer, a Sanskrit scholar of international repute, as the Honorary Director of its Indological Research Institute. It is at the same time grateful to Prof. Iyer for his having very kindly accepted this post.

VI

Amongst others, the following were kind enough to visit the Parishad in the course of the past one year:—

1. Dr. Udaya Narain Tewari, Jabalpur.
2. Dr. B. Gopala Reddi, Governor of U.P.
3. Pandit Pattabhiram Shastri, Varanasi.
4. Prof. Herbert Hartel, West Germany .
5. Dr. A.K. Narain, Varanasi.
6. Dr. B.R. Saksena, New Delhi.
7. Dr. P.L. Bhargava, Jodhpur.
8. Prof. A.L. Basham, Australia.
9. Dr. D.N. Shastri, Meerut.

VII

The following have been newly enrolled as Sammānya Parishadas of the Parishad. The Parishad is grateful to them for having accepted its request.

1. Dr. A.L. Basham, Professor of Asian Civilization, Australian National University, Canberra, AUSTRALIA. In this country he is better known as the author of 'The wonder that was India'.

2. Dr. Bezwada Gopala Reddi, D. Litt., at present Governor of U.P.

VIII

महामहोपाध्याय पण्डित गोपीनाथ कविराज परिषद् के हस्तलिखित-ग्रन्थसङ्ग्रह में से कुछ छोटे, किन्तु महत्वपूर्ण, तन्त्र-ग्रन्थों का 'ऋतम्' के लिए सम्पादन कर रहे हैं। हमें आशा है कि उनमें से कुछ ग्रन्थों को हम 'ऋतम्' के आगामी अङ्क में दे सकेंगे।

IX

Dr. L. Sternbach, who is an Indologist of international repute, will be in Delhi for three days (on the 10th, 11th and 12th of August, 1969). The Parishad has requested him to pay a visit to the Parishad also. While he is in Delhi his address will be 'c/o United Nations, 21 Curzon Road, New Delhi-1'

X

Dr. Farley Richmond, Assistant Professor of Asian Theatre Research in the Michigan State University, U.S.A., is coming to India in connection with his research on. 'The Production of Classical Sanskrit Plays'. He might have just arrived. He is expected to visit the Parishad too in connection with his research.

XI

परिषद् वर्तमान वर्ष के अन्तिम खण्ड में अपने हस्तलिखित-ग्रन्थसङ्ग्रह में से ऐसे ग्रन्थों की एक प्रदर्शनी आयोजित करने का विचार कर रही है जो सभी दृष्टियों से विशेष महत्व के हों।

परिषद् के हस्तलिखित-ग्रन्थसङ्ग्रह में ८००० से कुछ ऊपर संस्कृत और प्राकृत के ग्रन्थ एकत्र हो चुके हैं। यहां हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों की सुरक्षा का विशेष ध्यान रखा जाता है और उनका समुचित उपयोग भी होता है। इस सुन्दर सङ्ग्रह की जिसमें अनेक दुर्लभ और अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थ हैं, वृद्धि ग्रन्थस्वामियों द्वारा किये गये ग्रन्थ-दान से हुई हैं। जिन सज्जनों के पास संस्कृत, पालि या प्राकृत हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ हों और उनके पास उनका कोई विशेष उपयोग न हो तो उनसे निवेदन है कि वे उन्हें कृपापूर्वक परिषद् को प्रदान करके श्रेय के भागी बनें। इस प्रकार के दानसमन्वयवाद प्रतिगृहीत किये जायेंगे और उपर्युक्त प्रदर्शनी में ग्रन्थदाताओं के नामों का भी स्पष्ट उल्लेख होगा।

The Parishad proposes to hold an exhibition of the most important ones of its Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts some time towards the close of the present calendar year.

At present there are a little over 8000 Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Parishad's Manuscripts-Repository. These Manuscripts are well looked after and properly made use of. This fine collection, which consists of a number of rare and very important manuscripts, has grown out of donations of manuscripts very kindly made by their owners. Gentlemen, who may be in possession of important Sanskrit, Pāli or Prakrit manuscripts and may not be requiring them for their personal use, are requested to kindly donate them to the Parishad. The donations shall be gratefully acknowledged and the names of the donors displayed at the proposed exhibition.

XII

इसी वर्ष साहित्य अकादमी ने डा० सत्यव्रत शास्त्री को उनके संस्कृत काव्य 'श्री गुरुगोविन्द सिंह चरितम्' पर रु० ५०००-०० का राष्ट्रीय पुरस्कार प्रदान किया है। डा० सत्यव्रत जी 'ऋतम्' के सम्पादक-मण्डल के सदस्य हैं। हम उनकी इस उपलब्धि पर उन्हें बधाई देते हैं।

XIII

A Correction

परिषद् द्वारा प्रकाशित 'कविराज अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ' के अन्त में उक्त ग्रन्थ के लेखकों के परिचय दिये गये हैं। इसमें अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ के दर्शन और धर्म खण्ड के सत्ताइसवें लेख के लेखक का जो परिचय छपा है वह वास्तविक लेख का परिचय न होकर एक अन्य ही व्यक्ति का परिचय है। परिषद् को अपनी इस त्रुटि के लिए खेद है और वह उक्त लेख के विद्वान् लेखक श्री शिव शंकर राय जी से क्षमाप्रार्थी हैं। श्री राय का परिचय नीचे दिया जा रहा है। In the "Who's Who" of writers given at the end of the Kaviraj Abhinandana Grantha published by the Parishad the particulars purporting to the particulars of the writer of Article No. 27 of the 'Philosophy and Religion Section' are the particulars not of the real writer but of some one else. The particulars of the aforesaid writer are as follow:—

Name : Roy, S.S.
(Shiva Shankar Roy)

नाम : शिव शंकर राय

INFORMATION

209

Education :	M.A. (Phil.) M.A. (English)	शिक्षा :	एम०ए० (दर्शन), एम०ए० (अंग्रेजी)
Present Position :	Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Allahabad	वर्तमानपद :	लेक्चरर, दर्शन विभाग इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय
Publications :	The Heritage of Śāṅkara (Udayana Publications, All.) and several articles.	प्रकाशन :	'दि हेरिटेज आफ शङ्कर' नामक पुस्तक तथा अनेक लेख
Address :	192, Allenganj, Allahabad.	पता :	१६२, ऐलेनगंज, इलाहाबाद

100

INFORMATION

Education: M.A. (Phil.)
M.A. (English)
Present Position: Lecturer in Philosophy,
University of Allahabad
Publications: The Message of
Islam (Udyan)
Publications (All) and
several articles.
Address: 192, Allimganj,
Allahabad.

The
DHĪKOṬIDA-KARAṆA
OF
SRĪPATI

श्रीपतिप्रणीतं धीकोटिदं करणम्



*Critically Edited
with*

Introduction, English translation, Notes

and

Illustrative Examples

by

KRIPA SHANKAR SHUKLA

Reader in Mathematics

University of Lucknow

Published by

**AKHILA BHARTIYA SANSKRIT PARISHAD
LUCKNOW**

1969

CONTENTS

Introduction	i
Sanskrit Text	6
Translation and Notes	11
Illustrative Examples	20

INTRODUCTION

The *Dhīkoṭīda-karaṇa* (also known as *Dhīkoṭī-karaṇa* or simply *Dhīkoṭī*), critically edited here for the first time along with English translation, notes and illustrative examples, is one of the two calendaric works coming from the pen of the astronomer Śrīpati, the celebrated author of the *Śiddhānta-śekhara* and the *Gaṇita-tilaka*. The other calendaric work of the author, known as *Dhruvamānasa-karaṇa*, was briefly noticed by Babuāji Miśra in his edition of the *Śiddhānta-śekhara* but has not appeared in print so far. Śrīpati was also the author of a number of astrological works of which the *Ratna-mālā* and the *Jātaka-paddhati* are well known. Śrīpati also wrote a commentary on the *Ratna-mālā* in Marāṭhī which was probably his mother tongue.

From the closing stanza¹ of the *Dhruvamānasa* we learn that Śrīpati was a son of Nāgadeva and a grandson of Keśava Bhaṭṭa and that he wrote that work in Rohiṇī Khaṇḍa. The opening lines² of Mahādeva's commentary on the *Ratna-mālā* further reveal that Śrīpati belonged to the Kaśyapa Gotra. Nathuram Premi³ has pointed out that the Jaina Puṣpadanta, author of the *Mahā-purāṇa*, the *Nāgakumāra-carita* and the *Yaśodhara-carita*, whose time was not far removed from that of our Śrīpati, was a son of Keśava Bhaṭṭa and belonged to the Kaśyapa Gotra, and on the basis of coincidence of parentage and Gotra has conjectured that our Śrīpati's father Nāgadeva and the Jaina Puṣpadanta were probably brothers. It is also stated that the parents of Puṣpadanta were originally Śaivite Hindus but later they adopted the Jaina religion and ultimately became, Sanyāsins. Puṣpadanta himself was originally a Śaiva but subsequently became a Jaina. Nathuram Premi's conjecture has not been corroborated by any other evidence. It is, however, interesting to note that Śrīpati's works were popular among the Jainas. Some of the commentaries on his works also came from the pen of Jaina writers. For example, Simhaṭilaka Sūri who

¹ भट्टकेशवपुत्रस्य नागदेवस्य नन्दनः ।

श्रीपती रोहिणीखण्डे ज्योतिःशास्त्रमिदं व्यधात् ॥

² तदयमपि कश्यपवंशपुण्डरीकमार्तण्डो देवज्ञचूडामणिकेशवस्य पौत्रो ज्योतिःशास्त्रसमुद्दष्ट-
पारस्य गणकगणवन्दितपदद्वयस्य श्रीमन्नागदेवस्य सूनुः etc.

³ जैन साहित्य और इतिहास, by Nathuram Premi, Bombay (1942), pp. 301-306.

wrote a commentary on the *Gaṇita-tilaka* was a Jaina scholar. But Śrīpati himself in his works has called himself a Brāhmaṇa and has referred to Hindu gods.

The place of birth and activity of Śrīpati is not known with certainty. The Rohiṇī Khaṇḍa, which is mentioned in the *Dhruvamānasa* as the place of composition of that work, has not been identified properly, as no reference to this place has so far been found in the extant Hindu literature. In the Sanskrit literature India is divided into nine divisions,¹ but the Rohiṇī Khaṇḍa is not one of them. Padmakara Dvivedi² is of opinion that "the Rohiṇī Khaṇḍa is the town of Kapilavastu³ or the valley of Nepal where the river Rohiṇī⁴ flows," but neither of these was ever called by that name. Nathuram Premi⁵, on the other hand, takes Rohiṇī Kheḍa⁶ to be the correct reading and identifies that place with the village Rohana Kheḍa situated in the district Bulaḍhānā of Berar (in Mahārāṣṭra). This seems to be a more plausible suggestion in view of the fact that Śrīpati, being the author of a Marāṭhī commentary on the *Ratna-mālā*, must have belonged to a Marāṭhī-speaking area like Berar. It may be mentioned that Śrīpati's Marāṭhī commentary on the *Ratna-mālā* was discovered by the Mahārāṣṭra historian Rajawade who published it in the year 1914 A. D.⁷

¹ These bear the names (1) Aindra Khaṇḍa, (2) Kaṣeru Khaṇḍa, (3) Tāmrapaṇa Khaṇḍa, (4) Gabhastidamana Khaṇḍa, (5) Kumārikā Khaṇḍa, (6) Saumya Khaṇḍa, (7) Nāga Khaṇḍa, (8) Vāruṇa Khaṇḍa, and (9) Gāndharva Khaṇḍa. See *Siddhānta-Śekhara*, xv. 46.

² गणकतरङ्गिणी by Sudhakara Dvivedi, edited by Padmakara Dvivedi, Banaras (1933), p. 30, editor's foot-note.

³ Modern Bhuila in the north-western part of the Basti district, Uttar Pradesh. See V. S. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Part III, Revised Edition, Poona (1959), Appendix B, p. 40.

⁴ The river Rohiṇī is a tributary of the river Rapti. It originates in Nepal and meets the Rapti between Domingarh and Gorakhpur. Cf. Survey of India Map, U. P. Sheet No. 23, April 1911 Edition. Also see गोरखपुर जनपद और उसकी क्षत्रिय जातियों का इतिहास by Rajbali Pandeya, Gorakhpur (1946), p. 9.

⁵ जैन साहित्य और इतिहास p. 304.

⁶ भट्टकेशवपुत्रस्य नागदेवस्य नन्दनः ।

श्रीपती रोहिणीखेडे ज्योतिःशास्त्रमिदं व्यधात् ॥

⁷ "Identity of Makki Bhatta the author of a commentary on Śrīpati's *Siddhānta-Śekhara* with Makki Bhatta the author of a commentary on the *Raghuvamśa*," by P. K. Gode, *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, July-August (1937-38), pp. 479-484, and जैन साहित्य और इतिहास, p. 305.

Śrīpati's time is almost definitely known. The epoch of calculation adopted in the *Dhīkoṭida-karaṇa* is the year 961 of the Śaka era and that adopted in the *Dhruvamānasa-karaṇa* is the year 978 of the same era. These epochs correspond to the years 1039 and 1056 of the Christian era. This shows that Śrīpati lived in the eleventh century A. D. and wrote his *Dhīkoṭida-karaṇa* in 1039 A. D.

The *Dhīkoṭida-karaṇa* is a small work consisting of two chapters, the first chapter dealing with the computation of a lunar eclipse and the second with that of a solar eclipse. The first chapter consists of 13 verses. Verse 1 is invocatory. Verses 2-7 give the method for finding the geocentric angular distance of the apparent Sun from the nearer node of the moon at new moon or full moon and therefrom the Moon's latitude for the same time. Verse 8 gives the measure of the moon's diameter eclipsed by the Shadow. Verses 9-11 give the method for finding the instants of the beginning and end of a lunar eclipse as well as the beginning and end of totality in the case of a total lunar eclipse. Verses 12-13 give the positions of the Moon's disc where the lunar eclipse begins and ends. The second chapter consists of 7 verses. Verses 1-2 relate to the determination of the time of apparent conjunction of the Sun and the moon. Verses 3-4 give the method for finding the Moon's true latitude. Verses 5-7(i) relate to finding the time for the beginning and end, immersion and emersion and the corresponding positions of the Moon's disc in the case of a solar eclipse. Verse 7(ii) relates to the authorship of the work.

The *Dhīkoṭida-karaṇa* was written with the object of providing the astronomers with a convenient and quick method for the computation of the eclipses of the Sun and the Moon: "This excellent *Karaṇa* which is entitled *Dhīkoṭida* and is highly condensed is composed by Śrī Śrīpati for quick computation of the eclipses of the Sun and the Moon by the astronomers."¹ The reader will see that the author achieved a remarkable degree of success in his objective. The work seems to have been received with favour by the astronomers. A number of commentaries illustrating the rules of the *Dhīkoṭida* that have come down to us and also the Tables based thereon that have survived speak of the popularity enjoyed by this work. Amongst the commentators of the *Dhīkoṭida* mention may be made of Dinakara (1608 A. D.) and Hari Kṛṣṇa (c. 1710 A. D.).

The Sanskrit text of the *Dhīkoṭida-karaṇa* has been edited with the help of the following manuscripts :

¹ MS. C, Closing Stanza.

- A MS. No. 5370 of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow. It contains the Sanskrit text followed by a Sanskrit commentary by Hari Kṛṣṇa, a native of Delhi, illustrating the rules of the text by calculating a solar eclipse for the year 1708 A. D. and a lunar eclipse for the year 1714 A. D. The first chapter of the *Dhikotīda-karaṇa* in this manuscript consists of 13 verses and the second chapter of 8 verses.
- B MS. No. 2919 of Sri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, Jammu. It contains the Sanskrit text along with the Sanskrit commentary of Hari Kṛṣṇa. The contents of this manuscript agree with those of the previous one.
- C MS. No. 2991 of the Adyar Library, Adyar. It contains the Sanskrit text followed by an anonymous commentary in Gujarati exemplifying the rules of the text by calculating a lunar eclipse for the year 1763 A. D. The commentary breaks off thereafter. The manuscript gives 13 verses in the first chapter and 7 verses in the second chapter.
- D MS. No. 3165 of the Oriental Institute, Baroda. It contains the Sanskrit text along with an anonymous commentary in Sanskrit paraphrasing the text. In the end of the commentary, the commentator calculates a lunar eclipse and a solar eclipse for the year 1606 A.D. There are 10 verses in the first chapter; the second chapter breaks off after the fifth verse.
- E MS. No. 1083 of the Oriental Institute, Baroda. It contains the text only, which is comprised of 12 verses in the first chapter and 7 verses in the second chapter.
- F MS. No. 1083(a) of the Oriental Institute, Baroda. It contains the Sanskrit text along with a commentary in Sanskrit by Dinakara (1608 A. D.). The commentary, entitled *Mugdhabodhā*, is explanatory in character. There are 12 verses in the first chapter and 7 verses in the second chapter.

MSS. A, B and C begin the text with an invocatory stanza, whereas MSS. D, E and F omit it.

The manuscripts do not quite agree among themselves and exhibit remarkable divergence at places. Wherever such differences were found to occur, recourse was taken to the criterion of mathematical accuracy or appropriateness. The differing readings have been given in the footnotes.

The following manuscripts were found to be of help in interpreting certain passages of the text :

- G MS. No. 5369 (entitled *Dhīkoṭī-sāraṇī*) of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow. It contains tables based on the *Dhīkoṭīda-karaṇa* and illustrates the use of the tables by calculating a lunar eclipse for the year 1627 A. D.
- H MS. No. 5368 (entitled *Dhīkoṭīmatena Samvatsara-śodhana*) of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow. It contains tables based on the *Dhīkoṭīda-kāraṇa* and illustrates the use of those tables by calculating two lunar and one solar eclipses for the year 1800 A. D.

I feel pleasure in recording my sincere thanks to Shri G. C. Sinha, Secretary, Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, who kindly invited my attention to the manuscript of the *Dhīkoṭīda-karaṇa* in his library and at whose suggestion I took up the present work.

I am thankful to the librarian of the Lucknow University Library for procuring for my use transcripts of MS. B from Sri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, Jammu, and of MS. C from the Adyar Library, Adyar, and for getting on loan for my use MSS. D, E, and F from the Oriental Institute, Baroda. My thanks are also due to the authorities of above mentioned libraries for kindly sending their manuscripts or transcripts of their manuscripts.

I must also thank Shri Markandeya Misra, Jyotishacharya, Research Assistant, Department of Mathematics and Astronomy, Lucknow University, for preparing copies of MSS. A, G and H for my use.



श्रीश्रीपतिप्रणीतं धीकोटिदं करणम्

प्रथमोऽध्यायः

चंद्रग्रहणाधिकारः

नत्वा भवानीचरणारविन्दं

शिवं गणेशं द्रुहिणं गिरां च ।

हरिं गुहं सद्ग्रहणं रवेश्च

चन्द्रस्य वक्ष्ये सुगमप्रकारम् ॥ १ ॥^१

चन्द्राङ्गनन्दो (६६१) नशकोऽर्क (१२) निघ्न-

श्चैत्रादिमासैर्युगधो द्वि (२) निघ्नः ।

पञ्चो (५) नितः स्वीयनृपाङ्क (६१६) भाग-

हीनः शराङ्गा (६५) प्तफलेन युक्तः ॥ २ ॥

त्रिधा करा (२) म्यां धृति (१८) भिर्भुवा (१) च

तं मासवृन्दं गुणयेत् ततोऽत्यः ।

निजाभ्रनेत्रां (२०) शयुगभ्रषड्भि (६०)-

भक्तः फलाढ्यस्त्वथ मध्यराशिः ॥ ३ ॥

स षष्टि (६०) भक्तः फलमूर्ध्वराशौ

दत्वा ततो भै (२७) विभजेच्च शेषम् ।

दर्शान्तिको^२ भध्रुवकस्तु सः स्यात्

भुवा (१) विधवेदै (४४) श्च रसैः (६) समेतः ॥ ४ ॥

^१ This verse occurs in A, B and C but not in D, E and F.

^२ दर्शान्तिको C, D, F.

दर्शान्तिकः^१ स्याच्छशिना (१)ऽथ तदै (६)-

रभ्रेण (०) युक्तः स च पूर्णिमान्तः^२ ।

चक्रार्ध (१३।३०) चक्रान्तर (२७) के ध्रुवस्य

पूर्ण (०) यदोर्व्व^३ ग्रहणं विचिन्त्यम्^४ ॥ ५ ॥

वहन्य^५ (३) ष्ट (८) दिग् (१०) रुद्र (११) गजा (८) ग्नि (३) संख्याः

कर्कादिकेऽक^६ रविका ऋणाख्याः ।

पट् (६) दिक् (१०) भवा (११) शा^७ (१०) रस^८ (६) शून्य (०) संख्या

मृगादिकेऽर्क^९ धनसंज्ञनाड्यः^{१०} ॥ ६ ॥

संस्कृत्य पूर्वं रविकाभिरस्य

चक्रार्ध (१३।३०) चक्रा (२७) न्तरकेऽथ शेषम् ।

लिप्तादिकं मध्यशरः स^{११} याम्यो

भार्वा (१३।३०) धिके न्यूनतरेऽथ^{१२} सौम्यः ॥ ७ ॥

मध्येषुहीना रसबाण (५६) लिप्ता-

श्छन्नं च तस्मिन् शशिमण्डलोने ।

स्यात्खण्डपर्वाभ्यधिकेऽथ^{१३} पूर्णं

कराग्नि^{१४} (३२) लिप्तामितमिन्दुमानम् ॥ ८ ॥

षडग्निचंद्राग्नि (३१३६) मितार्धयुक्त-^{१५}

वर्गात्तु विक्षेपकृति विशोध्य ।

मूलेऽथ^{१६} षष्ट्या (६०) गुणितेऽभ्रराम-

नगै (७३०) श्च भक्ते^{१७} स्थितिखंडनाड्यः ॥ ९ ॥

^१ दर्शान्तिकः C, D. ^२ पूर्णिमान्ते C, D, E, F. ^३ यदा स्याद् A, B, C, E, F.

^४ रवीन्द्रोः D. ^५ अन्य E. ^६ कर्कादिके स्युः A, B, C, E, F. ^७ भवा

(११) दिक्^० A, B. ^८ शर D. ^९ मृगादिके स्युः A, B, E, F.

^{१०} धनमेव नाड्यः A, B. ^{११} मध्यशरस्तु A, B. ^{१२} न्यूनतरे तु D. ^{१३} तु

C, F; च E. ^{१४} रसाग्नि A, B, C, D, E, F. ^{१५} मितार्धयुक्त-

C, D, E, F.

^{१६} मूलं गृहीत्वा खरस (६०) घनमभ्र-

रामाद्रि (७३०) भक्तं स्थितिखण्डनाड्यः ॥ A, B.

^{१७} नगैश्च लब्धं D; नगैर्विभक्ते F.

*रसाद्रिबाण(५७६) प्रमिताच्छरोनात्
प्राग्वत्कृते मध्यविमर्दनाड्यः^१ ।
स्पर्शस्थितिः स्यात् स्थितिखण्डहीने
मोक्षस्थितिः स्यात्^२ स्थितिखण्डयुक्ते ॥ १० ॥

मर्दोनमध्ये^३ तु निम्नीलनं स्या-
दुन्मीलनं मध्यविमर्दयुक्ते ।
मध्यग्रहः पर्वतिथेः^४ समाप्तौ
शरादिके तु^५ त्रि(३)हर्तेज्जुलादि ॥ ११ ॥

पूर्वाश्रितः किञ्चिदिवेशदिवस्थः^६
स्पर्शश्च वायोदिशि मोक्ष उक्तः ।
स्यादुत्तरस्यां दिशि मध्यखण्डं
सौम्यः शशांकस्य यदा शरः स्यात् ॥ १२ ॥

स्पर्शस्तथाग्नौ निऋतौ च मोक्षः
खण्डं च याम्ये यदि याम्यबाणः ।
निमीलनं पश्चिमदिग्विभागे
उन्मीलनं पूर्वदिशस्तथेदोः^७ ॥ १३ ॥

इति श्रीश्रीपतिविरचिते धीकोटिदकरणे
चन्द्रग्रहणाधिकारः प्रथमः ।

^१ मर्दविमर्दनाड्यः A, B.

^२ मोक्षस्तथाऽस्मिन् C, F; मोक्षस्तथैव E.

^३ मर्दे विहीनेऽत्र C, E; मर्दे विहीने तु F.

^४ स्पष्टतिथेः A, B.

^५ ऽथ A, B.

^६ किञ्चिदपीशदिवस्थः A, B.

^७ पूर्वदिशीत्यमिन्दोः C; पूर्वदिशिस्थमिन्दोः E, F.

* In place of vv. 10-13, D reads as follows:

रसाद्रिबाण(५७६) प्रमितोनवर्गात्प्राग्वत्कृते मध्यविमर्दनाड्यः ।
तिथ्यन्तकालो ग्रहणस्य मध्यः स्थित्योनयुक्तः क्रमशो विधेयः ॥
स्तः स्पर्शमोक्षावमुनैव कालात् सम्मीलनोन्मीलनके च वेद्ये ।
शरादिके वृत्ति(३)हर्तेज्जुलाद्यं भवेदि(ति ज्योति)षिका वदन्ति ॥

द्वितीयोऽध्यायः

सूर्यग्रहणाधिकारः

रवेस्तु पर्वण्यथ पर्वकालः^१

स्पष्टो भवेत्लम्बनसंस्कृतश्च ।

सार्धं घटीनां त्रितयं(३ $\frac{१}{२}$) त्रयं(३) चद्वयं(२) तथैका(१) घटिका क्रमेण^२ ॥ १ ॥आद्ये द्वितीये च तृतीयतुर्थे^३

यामार्धके लम्बनकं ऋणं स्यात् ।

धनं तथैका(१) युगलं(२) त्रयं(३) च

सार्धत्रयं(३ $\frac{१}{२}$) पञ्चमकात्क्रमेण^४ ॥ २ ॥

मीनेऽथ मेघे नतिरङ्कुरामा (३६)

मिताब्धिरामा (३४) गवि चाथ कुम्भे^५ ।

युग्मे मृगे सप्तकरा(२७) धृतिश्च(१८)

कर्केऽथ^६ चापे नतिरत्र याम्या ॥ ३ ॥

सिंहे तथाऽलौ दशकं(१०) कलानां

कलाश्चतस्र(४)स्तुलकन्ययोश्च^७ ।शरावनत्योर्युतिरेकदिक्के^८ज्येष्ठेऽन्तरं^९ स्पष्टतरः शरः स्यात् ॥ ४ ॥त्रिराम(३३)लिप्ताप्रमिता शरोना^{१०}छत्रं रवेर्मंडलमिन्दुमानम्^{११} ।नवाष्टखेन्दु(१०८६)प्रमितोऽत्र युक्त-^{१२}वर्गः^{१३} शशांकग्रहवत्स्थितिश्च ॥ ५ ॥^{१४}^१ मध्यकालः C, D, E, F.^२ च घटी क्रमेण E.^३ आद्ये द्वितीये तृतीये चतुर्थे C, D, E, F.^४ धनं तथैका(१) युगलं(२) च सार्ध-^५ वृषकुम्भयोश्च A, B.

त्रयं त्रयं(३) पञ्चमकात्क्रमेण C.

^६ कर्के च D. ^७ कलाचतस्रो(४) घटकन्ययोश्च A, B.^८ दिक्त्वे A, B. ^९ भिन्नोऽन्तरं D. ^{१०} लिप्ता द्विराम(३२)प्रमिता शरोनाC, D, E, F; प्रमिताच्छरोनात् C, E. ^{११} रवेर्मंडलमभ्ररामः (३०) A, B.^{१२} युक्ते-A, B. ^{१३} प्रमिताच्च युक्तवर्गात् E.^{१४} The subsequent verses are missing from D.

सूर्यग्रहेऽपि द्युमणेर्विमर्दः
 स्यात्सम्भवश्चंद्रमितेर्बहुत्वात् ।^१
 तिथ्यन्ततो लम्बनसंस्कृताच्च
 स्थितेर्वशात् तत्समयो विचिन्त्यः^२ ॥ ६ ॥

स्पर्शस्थितौ चंद्रमसोऽर्कमुक्तिः
 स्पर्शोऽब्जमुक्ताविति सूर्यपर्व ।^३
 धीकोटिदं सत्करणं प्रसिद्धं
 श्रीश्रीपतिः^४ सारस्तरं चकार ॥ ७ ॥^५

इति श्रीश्रीपतिविरचिते धीकोटिदकरणे
 सूर्यग्रहणाधिकारः द्वितीयः ।

^१ सर्वग्रहेऽपि द्युमणेर्विमर्दस्यासम्भवो दीप्तितेर्बहुत्वात् C, E, F.

After this A and B give the following additional half-verse:

त्रिरामलिप्ताप्रमिताच्छरोनात्
 प्राग्बत्कृतात् मर्दविमर्दनाड्यः ॥

^२ स्वसमयो विचिन्त्यः C, E.

^३ स्पर्शस्थितेश्चंद्रमसोऽन्यदिक्त्वं
 स्पर्शोऽब्जमुक्ताविति सूर्यपर्व । A, B.

^४ तत् श्रीपतिः C; सत्करणं त्रिसिद्धयुक् श्रीपतिः E; त्रिसिद्धि श्रीपतिः F.

^५ After this A and B give the following additional half-verse:

ज्योतिर्विदां चन्द्रपतङ्गयोश्च
 ज्ञानाय सद्यो ग्रहणस्य राहोः ॥

Note:—Verses 2, 5, 7, and 12 of Chapter 1 and verse 7 of Chapter 2 are in the *Indravajrā* metre ; the remaining verses are in the *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā* + *Upendravajrā*) metre.

Translation and Notes

CHAPTER I

The Lunar Eclipse

Invocation:

1. Having paid obeisance to the lotus-like feet of Goddess Bhavānī, to Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, Sarasvatī, Viṣṇu and the teacher, I set forth a convenient method for computing the eclipses of the Sun and the Moon.

Determination of the number of lunar months elapsed since the beginning of the year 961 of the Śaka era which is taken as the starting point of calculation:

2. Diminish the (current) year of the Śaka era by 961, (then) multiply (the remainder) by 12, (then) add (to the resulting product) the number of months elapsed since the beginning of Caitra;¹ (then set down the resulting sum in two places one below the other). Multiply the sum in the lower place by 2, (then) diminish (the product) by 5, and (then) diminish (the remainder obtained) by 916th of itself. Divide whatever is obtained (as the remainder) by 65 and add (the quotient to the sum standing in the upper place).

This rule assumes, following Āryabhaṭa I,² that one solar month is equivalent to

$$1 + \frac{2}{65} \left(1 - \frac{1}{916} \right) \text{ lunar months approx.}$$

¹ The twelve months of the year in Hindu astronomy bear the names (1) Caitra, (2) Vaiśākha, (3) Jyeṣṭha, (4) Āṣāḍha, (5) Śrāvaṇa, (6) Bhādrapada, (7) Āśvina, (8) Kārtika, (9) Mārgaśīrṣa, (10) Pauṣa, (11) Māgha, and (12) Phālguna.

² According to Āryabhaṭa I, in a period of 4,32,00,00 years there are 51.84,00,00 solar months and 53,43,33,36 lunar months, so that the number of lunar months in one solar month

$$\begin{aligned} &= \frac{53433336}{51840000} \\ &= 1 + \frac{1593336}{51840000} \\ &= 1 + \frac{2}{65} - \left(\frac{2}{65} - \frac{1593336}{51840000} \right) \\ &= 1 + \frac{2}{65} - \frac{113160}{65 \times 51840000} \\ &= 1 + \frac{2}{65} \left(1 - \frac{2}{916} \right) \text{ approx.} \end{aligned}$$

The subtractive 5 in the text is meant to account for the intercalary excess at the beginning of the Śaka year 961.

Determination of *Darśānta Bhadrhuva* and *Pūrṇimānta Bhadrhuva* :

3-5(i). Set down the resulting "aggregate of months" in three places (one below the other) and multiply (the numbers in the upper-most, the middle and lowest places) by 2, 18, and 1 respectively. Then increase the last result (which is in the lowest place) by one-twentieth of itself. Then divide that by 60, (retain the remainder) and add the quotient to the number in the middle place. (Then) divide that (i.e. the number now in the middle place) by 60, (retain the remainder) and add the quotient to the number in the uppermost place. Then divide (the number now in the uppermost place) by 27, (discard the quotient¹ and retain the remainder). (To the remainders standing in the uppermost, the middle and the lowest places denoting *nakṣatra*, *ghaṭī* and *pala* in order) add 1, 44 and 6 respectively. Then is obtained the *Darśānta Bhadrhuva*.

The *Darśānta Bhadrhuva* being increased by 1, 9 and 0 (in the upper-most, the middle and the lowest places denoting *nakṣatra*, *ghaṭī* and *pala* respectively) gives the *Pūrṇimānta Bhadrhuva*.

The *Darśānta Bhadrhuva* denotes the longitudinal distance of the Mean Sun from the Moon's ascending node at the time of conjunction of the Sun and the Moon, in terms of *nakṣatra*, *ghaṭī* and *pala*. The *nakṣatra*, *ghaṭī* and *pala* here are the divisions of the circle like the degrees, minutes and seconds. The whole circumference of the circle is divided into 27 equal parts called *nakṣatras*, each *nakṣatra* is subdivided into 60 equal parts called *ghaṭīs*, and each *ghaṭī* is further subdivided into 60 equal parts called *palas*.

The *Pūrṇimānta Bhadrhuva* denotes the longitudinal distance of the mean Sun from the Moon's ascending node at the time of opposition of the Sun and the Moon, in terms of *nakṣatra*, *ghaṭī* and *pala*.

¹ The quotient gives revolutions and is discarded because the revolutions are not required in writing the longitude.

The above rule assumes, following the *Siddhānta-śekhara*¹, that the rate of separation of the Sun from the Moon's node is equivalent to 2 *nakṣatras* 18 *ghaṭīs* and $1\frac{1}{20}$ *palas* per month. In a fortnight likewise this separation amounts to 1 *nakṣatra* 9 *ghaṭīs* 0 *pala*.

1 *nakṣatra* 44 *ghaṭīs* and 6 *palas*, used as an additive in the above rule, is the *Bhadhrava* for the beginning of Caitra, Śaka 961, the starting point of our calculation.

Criterion for the possibility of an eclipse:

5 (ii). When the difference of the (*Darśānta* or *Pūrṇimānta*) *Bhadhrava* from half a circle (i. e. 13 *nakṣatras* 30 *ghaṭīs*) or a full circle (i. e. 27 *nakṣatras*) yields zero in the uppermost place (denoting *nakṣatras*), an eclipse (of the Sun or Moon) is to be considered (possible).

This means that an eclipse of the Sun or Moon should be considered possible if at the time of conjunction or opposition of the Sun and the Moon the distance of the Sun from the nearest node is less than one *nakṣatra*, i. e. 13° 20'.

According to modern astronomy, the lunar and solar ecliptic limits are as follows:

	Superior	Inferior
Lunar ecliptic limits	12° 15'	9° 30'
Solar ecliptic limits	18° 31'	15° 21'
Central solar ecliptic limits	11° 50'	9° 55'

Thus if at the time of opposition of the Sun and the Moon the distance of the Sun from the nearer node is less than 9° 30', a lunar

¹ According to the *Siddhānta-śekhara*, in a period of 43,20,00,00,00 years, the Sun moving eastwards makes 43,20,00,00,00 revolutions round the earth, whereas the Moon's ascending node moving westwards makes 2,32,31,11,68 revolutions around the earth. In the same period there are 5,34,33,30,00,00 (5,18,40,00,00,00 + 1,59,33,00,00) lunar months. Thus in one lunar month the Sun's separation from the Moon's ascending node

$$= \frac{4320000000 + 232311168}{53433300000} \text{ revs.}$$

$$= \frac{4552311168}{53433300000} \text{ revs.}$$

$$= 2 \text{ nāḍīs } 18 \text{ ghaṭīs } 1\frac{1}{20} \text{ palas.}$$

eclipse is certain; if the distance is greater than $12^{\circ} 15'$, a lunar eclipse is impossible. And if at the time of conjunction of the Sun and the Moon the distance of the Sun from the nearer node is less than $15^{\circ} 21'$, a solar eclipse is certain; if the distance is greater than $18^{\circ} 31'$, a solar eclipse is impossible.

Before applying the above rule the *Bhadhruva* should be corrected for the *Ravikā Nāḍīs* stated below. See below, vs. 7.

Ravikā Nāḍīs (i. e. *Nāḍīs* giving the difference between the true and mean positions of the Sun):

6. When the Sun is in the six signs beginning with Cancer (i. e. in Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius), the *Ravikā Nāḍīs* (i. e. *ghaṭīs* of the Sun's correction), which are then negative in sign, amount to 3, 8, 10, 11, 8 and 3 (respectively); when the Sun is in the six signs beginning with Capricorn (i. e. in Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries, Taurus and Gemini) the (corresponding *Ravikā*) *Nāḍīs*, which are now positive in sign, amount to 6, 10, 11, 10, 5 and 0 (respectively).

The *Ravikā Nāḍīs* above give the difference between the true and mean positions of the Sun, i. e. the Sun's correction. This correction can be easily identified with the Sun's equation of the centre. It is to be noted that the correction stated above is zero in Gemini, the sign occupied by the Sun's apogee, and is again zero somewhere in Sagittarius, the sign occupied by the Sun's perigee. In other signs its variation behaves like that of the Sun's equation of the centre. Moreover, its maximum value is 11 *nāḍīs* i. e. $2^{\circ} 26' 40''$, which roughly corresponds to the Hindu value of the Sun's equation of the centre. It may be added that 11 *nāḍīs* is the approximate maximum value of the correction in round figures.

Application of the *Ravikā Nāḍīs* as a positive or negative correction to the *Bhadhruva* and the determination of the Moon's latitude for the middle of the eclipse :

7. Having first applied these *Ravikā Nāḍīs* (as a negative or positive correction) to the *Bhadhruva*, one should find the difference of the (corrected) *Bhadhruva* from half a circle or a full circle (as the case may

be). The difference (*inghaṭis* etc. thus obtained) gives the *Madhyaśara* (i. e. the Moon's latitude for the middle of the eclipse) in terms of minutes, etc.

When the (corrected) *Bhadhruva* is greater than half a circle, the *Madhyaśara* is south; when less, it is north.

The (corrected) *Bhadhruva* denotes the longitudinal distance of the apparent (or true) Sun from the Moon's ascending node, in terms of *nakṣatra*, *ghaṭī* and *pala*.

The difference between the corrected *Bhadhruva* and half a circle or a full circle (as the case may be) gives the distance of the apparent Sun from the Moon's nearer node. Let this distance be *D ghaṭīs*. It must be noted that these *ghaṭīs* are less than 1 *nakṣatra* or 60 *ghaṭīs*, otherwise an eclipse would not be possible. See verse 5 (ii) above.

Let us imagine that *M* is the position of the Moon in its orbit (on the celestial sphere), *N* is the Moon's nearer node, and *MP* is the perpendicular dropped from *M* on the Sun's orbit *NP* (on the celestial sphere). Since *D ghaṭīs* are necessarily less than 1 *nakṣatra*, the triangle *MNP*, right-angled at *P*, in which

$$MP = \text{Moon's latitude,}$$

$$\angle MNP = 270' \text{ (Hindu value)}$$

$$NP = D \text{ ghaṭīs} = \frac{800' \times D}{60} \text{ or } \frac{40D}{3} \text{ minutes,}$$

may be regarded as a plane triangle; and we have

$$MP = NP \tan (270)$$

$$= NP \tan (270/3438 \text{ radians})$$

$$= NP \frac{270}{3438} \text{ approx.}$$

$$= \frac{40D}{3} \cdot \frac{270}{3438} \text{ minutes}$$

$$= \frac{3600}{3438} D \text{ minutes}$$

$$= D \text{ minutes approx.}$$

Hence when the distance of the apparent Sun from the nearer node amounts to D *ghaṭīs* (< 1 *nakṣatra*), then the Moon's latitude amounts to D minutes approx. This accounts for the rule for the *Madhyaśara* stated in the text.

When the corrected *Bhadhrava* is greater than half a circle, the Moon is towards the south of Sun's orbit; therefore the *Madhyaśara* is then south. When the corrected *Bhadhrava* is less than half a circle, the Moon is towards the north of the Sun's orbit; therefore the *Madhyaśara* is then north.

Measure of the Moon's diameter eclipsed during a lunar eclipse; and the criterion for the eclipse being partial or total:

8. Subtract the *Madhyaśara* (i. e. the Moon's latitude for the middle of a lunar eclipse) from 56 minutes (denoting the sum of the semi-diameters of the Moon and the Shadow): then is obtained the measure of the lunar eclipse (in minutes). When it is less than the Moon's diameter, the eclipse is partial; when greater, the eclipse is total. The measure of the Moon's diameter is 32 minutes.

The following table gives the mean (angular) diameters of the Sun, the Moon, and the Shadow as used by Śrīpati in the present work and also the corresponding modern values:

	Śrīpati's Value	Modern Value ¹
Sun's diameter	33'	32' 4'
Moon's diameter	32'	31' 7''
Diameter of Shadow	80'	82' approx.

Duration of a lunar eclipse :

9. Subtract the square of the Moon's latitude from 3136, which is the value of the square of the sum of the semi-diameters of the Moon and the Shadow (in minutes). Then multiply the square root of that (difference) by 60 and divide by 730 : the quotient gives the duration of the (lunar) eclipse in *nāḍīs*.

Duration of totality for a total lunar eclipse:

10(i). Subtracting (the square of) the Moon's latitude from 576 (i. e. the square of the difference of the semi-diameters of the Moon and

¹ C.A. Young, Text-book of General Astronomy, p. 603.

the Shadow in minutes) and proceeding as before are obtained the *nāḍīs* of half the totality (for a total lunar eclipse).

The semi-diameter of the Shadow has been assumed to be 40 minutes.

Times of first and last contacts and of immersion and emersion:

10(i)-11. (The time of the middle of the lunar eclipse) being diminished by half the duration of the lunar eclipse gives the time of first contact : the same being increased by half the duration of the lunar eclipse gives the time of separation of the Moon from the Shadow (i. e. the time of last contact).

(The time of the middle of the lunar eclipse) being diminished by half the duration of totality gives the time of immersion; and the same increased by half the duration of totality gives the time of emersion.

The middle of the eclipse happens to be (approximately) at the end of the *Parva-tithi* (i. e. at the time of opposition of the Sun and the Moon).

(The minutes of) the Moon's latitude etc. being divided by 3 are reduced to *angulas*.

Positions where the Moon's disc comes into contact with the Shadow and separates from it :

12. When the Moon's latitude is north, the first contact occurs in the east slightly deviated towards the north-east; the separation occurs in the north-west; and the middle of the eclipse in the north.

13. When the (Moon's) latitude is south, the first contact occurs in the south-east; the separation in the south-west; and the middle of the eclipse, in the south. The immersion of the Moon takes place in the west; and emersion, in the east.

CHAPTER 2

The Solar Eclipse

Determination of the time of apparent conjunction of the Sun and the Moon:

1-2. In the case of an eclipse of the Sun, the time of conjunction of the Sun and the Moon becomes apparent when *Lambana* (i.e. correction for parallax in longitude) is applied to it.

In the first, second, third and fourth *yāmārdhas*, the *Lambana* is negative and its values are $3\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭīs*, 3 *ghaṭīs*, 2 *ghaṭīs*, and 1 *ghaṭī* respectively. In the four subsequent *yāmārdhas* beginning with the fifth the *Lambana* is positive and its values are 1 *ghaṭī*, 2 *ghaṭīs*, 3 *ghaṭīs* and $3\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭīs* respectively.

Yāmārdha is a unit of time which is equivalent to one-eighth of the day measured from sunrise to sunset. The first *Yāmārdha* begins at sunrise and the eighth *Yāmārdha* ends at sunset.

Determination of the Moon's true latitude:

3-4. (When the *Lagna*, i. e. the point of the ecliptic lying on the eastern horizon, is) in Pisces or Aries, the value of *Nati* (i.e. correction for parallax in latitude) is 39'; in Taurus or Aquarius, it is 34'; in Gemini or Capricorn, it is 27'; in Cancer or Sagittarius, it is 18'; in Leo or Scorpio, it is 10'; and in Libra or Virgo, it is 4'. The direction of *Nati* here (i.e. in this work) is always south.

When the Moon's latitude and *Nati* are of like directions, they are to be added together; when of unlike directions, their difference is to be taken. Whatever is thus obtained is the Moon's true latitude.

Times for first and last contacts, immersion and emersion and the corresponding positions on the Moon's disc in the case of a solar eclipse:

5-7(i). 33 minutes¹ minus the Moon's (true) latitude is the measure of the eclipse of the Sun. The Sun's diameter is (roughly) equivalent to the Moon's diameter (already stated).

¹ This denotes the sum of the semi-diameters of the Sun and the Moon.

1089 is here the value of the square of the sum of the semi-diameters of the eclipsed and eclipsing bodies. The duration of the eclipse is obtained as in the case of a lunar eclipse.

The measure of (the diameter of) the Moon being (at times) greater (than that of the Sun), in the case of a solar eclipse too, total obscuration of the Sun is possible.

The times (of first contact and separation, or of immersion and emersion) should be obtained with the help of the time of conjunction as corrected for *Lambana* and the duration (of the eclipse or totality).

The position of the Sun's separation (from the Moon) is the same as that of the Moon's (first) contact (with the Shadow); and the position of (the Sun's first) contact (with the Moon) is the same as that of the Moon's separation (from the Shadow).

This is the situation in a solar eclipse.

Authorship :

7(ii). This excellent Karaṇa (i. e., calendaric work), which is entitled *Dhīkoṭi* and is highly condensed, is composed by Śrī Śrīpati.

Illustrative Examples

Example 1. To calculate the duration of the lunar-eclipse for Āśvina Śukla 15, Śaka 1890 (Sunday, October 6, 1968 A.D.).

Subtracting 961 from the Śaka year 1890, we get 929. Multiplying by 12, we get 11148. Adding 6 (i. e. the number of months elapsed since the beginning of Caitra), we get 11154. (1)

Multiplying 11154 by 2, we get 22308. Subtracting 5 from 22308, we get 22303. Dividing 22303 by 916, the quotient is 24. Subtracting this 24 from 22303, we get 22279. Dividing 22279 by 65, we get 342 as the quotient.

Adding this 342 to 11154 [see (1)], we get 11496. This gives the total number of months elapsed since the beginning of Caitra, Śaka 961 (our epoch).

Multiplying this 11496 by 2, 18 and 1 respectively, we get

$$\begin{array}{ll} 22992 & \text{nakṣatras} \\ 206928 & \text{ghaṭīs} \\ 11496 & \text{palas} \end{array} \quad (2)$$

One-twentieth of the lowest number is 574. Adding this to the lowest number, we get 12070. Dividing it by 60, we get 201 as the quotient and 10 as the remainder. We write the remainder 10 in place of the lowest number, and add the quotient 201 to the middle number. The middle number now becomes 207129. Dividing this by 60, we get 3452 as the quotient and 9 as the remainder. We write the remainder 9 in place of the middle number and add the quotient 3452 to the uppermost number. The uppermost number now becomes 26444. Dividing this by 27, we get 979 as the quotient and 11 as the remainder. We discard the quotient and write the remainder 11 in place of the uppermost number. Thus (2) becomes

$$\begin{array}{ll} 11 & \text{nakṣatras} \\ 9 & \text{ghaṭīs} \\ 10 & \text{palas} \end{array} \quad (3)$$

i. e. 11 *nakṣatras* 9 *ghaṭīs* 10 *palas*.

Adding 1 *nakṣatra* 44 *ghaṭīs* 6 *palas* to it, we get

12 *nakṣatras* 53 *ghaṭīs* 16 *palas*.

This is *Darśānta Bhadrhuva*. Adding 1 *nakṣatra* 9 *ghaṭīs* to it, we get

14 *nakṣatras* 2 *ghaṭīs* 16 *palas*. (4)

This is *Pūrṇimānta Bhadrhuva*.

Now at the time of opposition of the Sun and the Moon, the Sun is in the sign Virgo, and the corresponding *Ravikā Nāḍīs* are —10. Therefore, subtracting 10 *ghaṭīs* from (4), we get

13 *nakṣatras* 52 *ghaṭīs* 16 *palas*. (5)

Subtracting half a circle (i.e. 13 *nakṣatras* 30 *ghaṭīs*) from it, we get

0 *nakṣatra* 22 *ghaṭīs* 16 *palas*, (6)

Since there is zero in the place of *nakṣatra* in (6), a lunar eclipse is possible.

Also the Moon's latitude at the time of opposition (or roughly, at the time of the middle of the eclipse) is

22' 16" S. (7)

This is obtained from (6) by treating *ghaṭīs* as minutes and *palas* as seconds. The direction is south because the *Pūrṇimānta Bhadrhuva* is greater than half a circle.

Subtracting (7) from 56', we get

33' 44"

which is greater than the Moon's diameter (i. e. 32'). Hence the eclipse is total.

Subtracting the square of (7), i. e. 495 : 48 from 3136 : 00 we get

2640 : 12.

The square root of this is 51' 23". Multiplying this by '60 and dividing by 730, we get

4 *ghaṭīs* 13 *palas* approx. (8)

i. e. 1^h 40^m 48^s.

This is the semi-duration of the eclipse.

According to modern calculation,¹ the semi-duration of this eclipse is 1^h 47^m 24^s, which shows that the value (8) obtained according to the *Dhīkoṭīda-karaṇa* differs from its correct value by about 6^m only.

Example 2. To calculate the duration of the solar eclipse for Bhādra Kṛṣṇa 30, Śaka 1890 (Sunday, September 22, 1968 A.D.).

As calculated above, the *Darśānta Bhadrhruva* is
12 *nakṣatras* ↓ 53 *ghaṭīs* 16 *palas*. (1)

Now at the time of conjunction of the Sun and the Moon, the Sun is in the sign Virgo, so the corresponding *Ravikā Nāḍīs* are —10, as before. Therefore, subtracting 10 *ghaṭīs* from (1), we get

12 *nakṣatras* 43 *ghaṭīs* 16 *palas*.

Subtracting it from half a circle (i. e. 13 *nakṣatras* 30 *ghaṭīs*), we get

46 *ghaṭīs* 44 *palas*. (2)

Since there is zero in the place of *nakṣatra*, a solar eclipse is possible. Also the Moon's latitude at the time of conjunction is

46' 44" N.

This is obtained from (2) by treating *ghaṭīs* as minutes and *palas* as seconds. The direction is north because the *Darśānta Bhadrhruva* is less than half a circle.

Now the *lagna* at the time of conjunction is in the sign Aries, so the corresponding *Nati* is 39' S. Hence the Moon's true latitude at the time of conjunction is

7' 44" N.

Subtracting the square of this, i.e. 59 : 48 from 1089 : 00, we get 1029 : 12. The square root of this is 32' 6." Multiplying this by 60 and dividing by 730, we get

¹ See *Indian Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac* for the year 1968, p. 308.

2 *ghaṭīs* 38 *palas*

i.e. 1^h3^m approx.

This is the semi-duration at the place of the author.

Now, according to the Kashi Vishwanath Panchang for the year 1968 A.D., the times of the beginning and the middle of this solar eclipse are as follow:

Beginning of eclipse	16 ^h 52 ^m (I.S.T.)
Middle of eclipse	17 ^h 51 ^m (I.S.T.)

the difference of the two being about 1 hour. This shows that in this case also the value of the semi-duration of the eclipse obtained according to the *Dhīkoṭīda-karāṇa* is remarkably good.

संज्ञासूत्रम्

अथ सूत्रम्

अथ सूत्रम्

एतत् सूत्रम्

अथ सूत्रम्

अथ सूत्रम्

अथ सूत्रम्

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पृष्ठ ३६+४०६, डबल डिमाई साइज, मोनो छपाई, फुल-क्लाय वाइण्डिंग, आवरण, सज्जा, बेट-अप आदि सभी दृष्टियों से उत्तम और आकर्षक । मूल्य रु० १३.५०

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५. संस्कृत-सूक्ति-सङ्ग्रह—सङ्कलयिता : डा० सत्यव्रत सिंह, अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय । संस्करण समाप्त ।

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७. 'वेदान्तपरिभाषा' भगवतीनाम्न्या संस्कृतव्याख्यया समेता ।

(Vedāntaparibhāṣā of Dharmarāja Adhvarīndra with the Commentary 'Bhagvatī' by Acharya Shree Anand Jha and an Introduction by Dr. Hem Chandra Joshi)

मूलग्रन्थकार : धर्मराज अध्वरीन्द्र; व्याख्याकार : लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के प्राच्य संस्कृत विभाग के प्राध्यापक आचार्य श्री आनन्द झा; भूमिका-लेखक : गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत विभाग के प्राध्यापक डा० हेमचन्द्र जोशी ।

पृष्ठ ७+३३७+४०, डबल डिमाई साइज, बढ़िया कागज और बढ़िया छपाई, हॉफ़ क्लाय-बाइण्डिंग, सुन्दर साज-सज्जा । मूल्य रु० १४.५०

'वेदान्तपरिभाषा' के रचयिता धर्मराज अध्वरीन्द्र वेदान्त और न्याय दोनों के ही प्रकाण्ड पण्डित थे और इसलिए उनके इस ग्रन्थ में न्याय का पुट पर्याप्त मात्रा में है । मूल लेखक की भाँति 'भगवती' टीकाकार आचार्य पं० आनन्द झा भी न्याय और वेदान्त के विशिष्ट विद्वान् हैं और इसीलिए न्याय की सहायता से इस वेदान्त ग्रन्थ की अनेक जटिल गुत्थियों को सुलझाने में वे समर्थ हुए हैं ।

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८. संसारसागर-मन्थनम् (हिन्दी)

(१) प्रथम भाग—‘चन्द्रकला’, अपरनाम ‘बालातपरक्ता शशिनी’, हिन्दी रूपान्तरकार: डा० जगदम्बा प्रसाद सिनहा, प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत विभाग, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय।

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(२) द्वितीय भाग—‘सूर्य का अधोगमन’, हिन्दी रूपान्तरकार : श्री पुरुषोत्तम लाल श्रीवास्तव।

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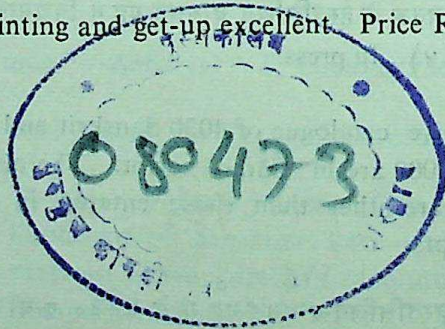
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आवश्यक सूचना

- १—‘ऋतम्’ के लिए लेख टिप्पणी, ग्रन्थ-समीक्षा या सूचना हिन्दी, संस्कृत और अंग्रेजी भाषाओं में से किसी में भी हो सकती है ।
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- ३—जहां कहीं संस्कृत, पाली या प्राकृत शब्दों को रोमन लिपि में लिखना आवश्यक हो वहां लिप्यन्तरण की अन्तराष्ट्रीय पद्धति ही अपनायी जानी चाहिए ।
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- ५—सम्पादक-मण्डल को पत्रिका के लिए अनुपयोगी पाये गये लेखों को अस्वीकृत करने और स्वीकृत लेखों को आवश्यकतानुसार सम्पादित करने का पूरा अधिकार होगा ।
- ६—पत्रिका के लिए प्राप्त लेखों के सम्बन्ध में प्राप्तिस्वीकृति अविलम्ब भेजी जायगी, और प्रकाशनार्थ स्वीकृति की सूचना दो मास के अन्दर चली जायगी । यदि इसमें दो सप्ताह से अधिक का विलम्ब हो तो लेखक को चाहिए कि प्रबन्ध - सम्पादक को लिखकर इसकी पूछ-तांछ करले ।
- ७—प्रत्येक लेख के लेखक को पत्रिका के उस अङ्क की एक प्रति के साथ जिसमें उसका लेख प्रकाशित होगा अपने लेख की २५ उन्मुद्रितियां निःशुल्क पाने का अधिकार होगा । यदि किसी लेखक को इससे अधिक उन्मुद्रितियों की आवश्यकता हो तो उसे चाहिए कि वह लेख के स्वीकृत हो जाने की सूचना पाने के दो सप्ताह के भीतर अपनी आवश्यकता परिषद् को लिख भेजे । २५ से अधिक उन्मुद्रितियां मूल्य देने पर ही मिल सकेंगी । टिप्पणियों और ग्रन्थ-समीक्षाओं के लेखकों को निःशुल्क केवल पत्रिका के अङ्क विशेष की एक प्रति मिलेगी; पूर्व सूचना के बिना उन्मुद्रितियां विल्कुल नहीं मिलेंगी और जब मिलेंगी तब उनका मूल्य देना होगा ।
- ८—जो ग्रन्थ समीक्षा के लिए भेजे जाय उनकी दो प्रतियां भेजी जानी चाहिए ।
- ९—समीक्षा उन्हीं ग्रन्थों की प्रकाशित की जायगी जो इस योग्य समझे जायंगे ।
- १०—पत्रिका में जिन ग्रन्थों की समीक्षा न प्रकाशित होगी उनकी प्राप्तिस्वीकृति मात्र प्रकाशित कर दी जायगी ।
- ११—पत्रिका के लिए लेख आगे लिखे पते पर भेजे जाय और उसी पते पर समस्त पत्र-व्यवहार भी किया जाय—मन्त्री, अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद्, महात्मा गांधी मार्ग, हजरतगंज, लखनऊ ।

घोषणा-पत्र

समाचारपत्र-रजिस्ट्रीकरण (केन्द्रीय) नियमावली, १९५६ के नियम ८ (१) के अधीन प्रकाशितव्य स्वामित्व-सम्बन्धी तथा अन्य व्योरे ।

(प्ररूप-चार)

१. प्रकाशन का स्थान— अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद्, महात्मा गांधी मार्ग, हजरतगंज, लखनऊ
२. प्रकाशन की कालिकता— षाण्मासिक
३. मुद्रक का
 - (१) नाम—श्री रामकुमार सिनहा,
 - (२) राष्ट्रिकता—भारतीय
 - (३) पता—इण्डस्ट्रियल प्रिंटिंग वर्क्स, मुभापमार्ग, रानीगंज लखनऊ ।
४. प्रकाशक का
 - (१) नाम—श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह
 - (२) राष्ट्रिकता—भारतीय
 - (३) पता—बी० ६८६, सेक्टर ए० महानगर, लखनऊ
५. सम्पादक का
 - (१) नाम—डा० जगदम्बाप्रसाद सिनहा
 - (२) राष्ट्रिकता—भारतीय
 - (३) पता—सी० १, न्यू युनिवर्सिटी स्टाफ फ्लैट्स गोकर्न नाथ रोड, लखनऊ
६. स्वामी का नाम और पता— अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद्, महात्मा गांधी मार्ग, हजरतगंज, लखनऊ ।
(इसमें कोई हिस्सेदार नहीं है)

मैं गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह एतद्द्वारा घोषित करता हूँ कि ऊपर दिये हुए व्योरे मेरे पूर्णतम ज्ञान और विश्वास के अनुसार सत्य हैं ।

(ह०) गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह
प्रकाशक (अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद्
लखनऊ की ओर से)

Price

	Current Volume	Back Volume	Single Number
भारत	₹ २०.००	₹ २५.००	₹ १२.००
India	Rs. 20.00	Rs. 25.00	Rs. 12.00
U. S. A.	\$ 5.00	\$ 6.25	\$ 3.00
Sterling	£ 2.00	£ 2.10 Sh.	£ 1.5 Sh.

Completed
1909-2030

